

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW • VOLUME XCIV • NUMBER THREE

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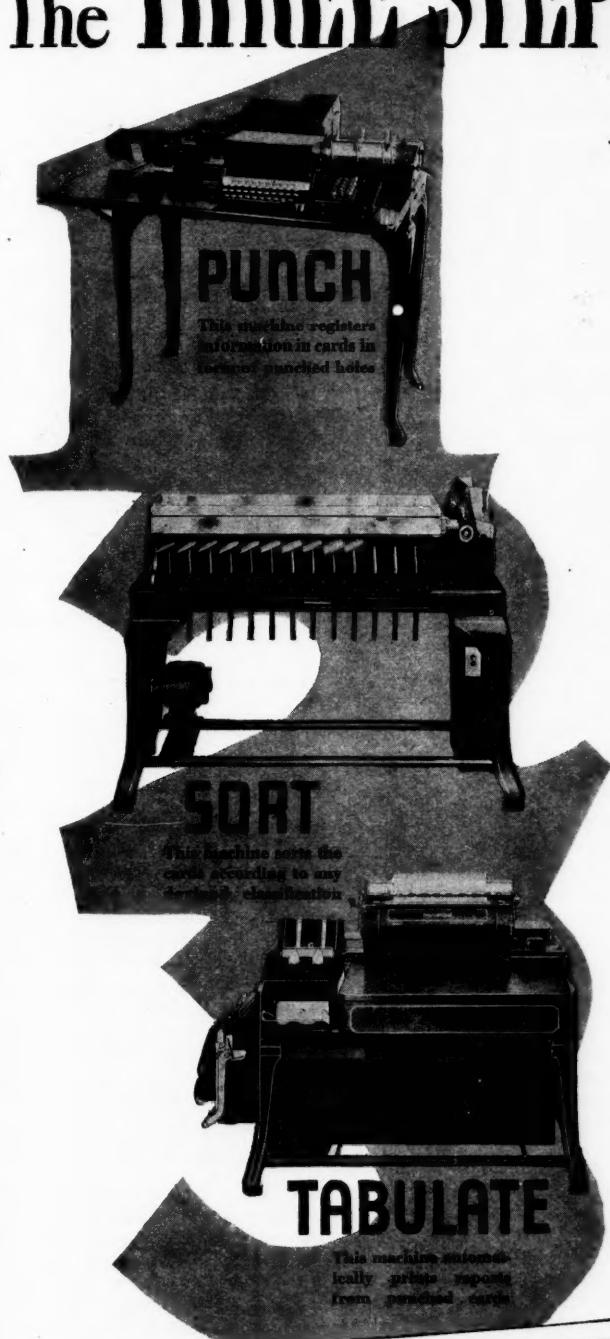
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THE NATIONAL MANUFACTURING COMPANY PAYROLL									
EMPLOYEE NAME	REGISTRATION NUMBER	CLOCK NUMBER	DAYS WORKED	HOURS WORKED	GROSS EARNINGS	SOCIAL SECURITY DEDUCTIONS			NET AMOUNT PAYABLE
						STATE (U.C.)	FEDERAL (O.A.B.)	OTHER DEDUCTIONS	
D L BIBBY	283042467	1126	6	385	2925	29	88	140	2668
C F JUNKER	350044673	1127	6	395	3100	31	93	160	2816
M GOLDSTEIN	780068468	1128	5	340	2640	26	79	100	2535
R E GOULD	456115678	1129	6	395	3290	33	99	120	3058
		1130	4	190	1040	10	31	125	879
						10	89		2736

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SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

SOYBEANS FOR EVERYTHING

A perfect example of the tie-up of agriculture, chemistry research, and modern industry is the lowly soybean. In the Far East, whence it came, it is an article of food. A generation ago, here, it was solely a plant for livestock feeding (with known soil-improving properties). Today it is an important article in industry. Note the extraordinary range of soybean use: It can be eaten while growing, especially by hogs and pigs. It makes excellent hay or silage. The beans are a green vegetable for the home table. When pressed they expel oil that is used in cooking, salads, soap, paint, varnish, enamel, lacquer, linoleum, oil cloth, printing ink, lubrication, etc. The meal that remains after the oil is expelled is an ingredient of mixed feed for animals and of flour (15 to 20 per cent) for humans; it becomes the basis of a good vegetable glue for veneer and plywood; or it enters into the plastics industry and may be found in various parts of your automobile. So 113,000 acres devoted to soybean production in the United States in 1909 became 1,962,000 acres in 1929 and 5,211,000 acres in 1935. More than half of this is in Illinois and Iowa, for the soybean grows well in the corn country soil.

TUNG OIL'S MARRIAGE TO SOYBEAN

A new kind of paint has for its base a mixture of 45 per cent soybean oil and 55 per cent tung oil. It should be remembered that tung oil has not heretofore been available for paint (with minor exceptions); only for varnish and enamel. But the paint industry, striving to put the newer soybean oil to work, discovers a way to broaden the market for tung oil. Tung-oil technique had always required heating for 15 minutes at 560 degrees Fahrenheit, with the possibility that it would suddenly turn from a liquid to a solid unless rosin was added; which limited it to a varnish-type base. There was also a fire hazard at 650 degrees, and destructive distillation at 700 degrees. Adding soybean oil, however, and using an improved coil of small diameter, now permits quick-heating at 1000 degrees—and yields the new drying base in paint. The tung tree is now out of the experiment stage in Florida and the Gulf States. It came from China, as did the soybean, the first trees being imported thirty years ago.

NOISELESS MILK

Perhaps a milk company should not have been expected to be interested in noise prevention, though steel tires on hard pavements are notorious offenders. But one company was. It experimented with rubber tires on regular wheels cut down; and found that the wagon so equipped required a greater starting

pull—74 pounds, against 56 for the steel rim. Then it experimented with axles, substituting chrome molybdenum steel and roller bearings. The starting pull was thereby lowered to 44 pounds. Meanwhile the wagon's weight had been reduced 300 pounds by the change, though in the test the rubber-tired vehicle was made to carry that amount of ballast. Thus you will gradually be seeing (but not hearing) pneumatic-tired, roller-bearing milk wagons, drawn by animals wearing rubber-covered horseshoes.

P.S. The horses will weigh 1400 pounds instead of 1600, will cost less and eat less and last longer, and the wagon repair bill will be negligible.

MORE AND BETTER RUBBER

Does research pay? An automobile tire was good for 2,000 miles in 1908. It may be expected to last 20,000 miles today. It cost \$35 to \$125 for a tire then, compared with \$8 to \$25 now. Thus the car owner pays one cent for tires today for every forty or fifty cents in that earlier day. Allow a fair amount of credit to good roads, and plenty remains for the tire-maker.

ELEVEN YEARS MORE OF LIFE

The highest test of a project in any field of research is its effect on human life, whether it has to do with medicine, surgery, sanitation, food, labor-saving devices, or living conditions. It is difficult to place your finger on any one thing, and trace its effect on life. Combined, however, and over a period of years, the results are astounding. From 1900 to 1930 the average length of life increased 11 years for men and 12 years for women. A male white child, just born, may be expected to live 48 years, a white female 51 years. Most striking is the decrease in infant mortality. Thirty years ago 128 male children out of 1000 died in the first year. In 1930 (figures published last month) only 62 died. Those who pass their twenty-first birthday may expect to reach 66 years if men and 68 years if women. Obviously this is an average; half of them will die before that time, and half will live beyond it.

WHEN RATS LIVE LONGER

Columbia University and Carnegie Institution, combined, are behind the nutritional researches of Dr. Henry C. Sherman. Since rats are most similar to human beings in the chemistry of their nutrition, and yet run through their normal life cycle in one-thirtieth of the human life-span, Dr. Sherman feeds and studies rats by preference. Diet A is five-sixths ground whole wheat and one-sixth dried whole milk, with table salt and distilled water added. It is adequate, supporting normal growth, health, and reproductivity in

rats. Diet B increases the proportion of milk, and lengthens the average female rat span-of-life from 603 days to 669. By implication, similar improvement in an adequate diet for human beings will increase our life expectation from 70 to 77 years.

SAVING 18 MILLION TONS OF COAL

Scientific selection of coal, chemical treatment of boiler water, and improved locomotives combine to squeeze more energy out of a ton of coal. In 1922, shortly after the Government's experience with war-time operation, 163 pounds of coal were required to move 1000 tons of equipment and freight for one mile. In 1925, 140 pounds. In 1935, only 120 pounds. Translated into dollars (and based on 1922 fuel efficiency) it is estimated that about 18 million tons of coal were saved last year, that would have cost approximately 40 million dollars.

ALUMINUM NEEDS POWER

Charles Martin Hall invented or discovered the electrolytic process for extracting aluminum from bauxite just fifty years ago. He was seeking to make aluminum practical and therefore cheap. Its price was then \$12 a pound; now it is 22 cents. Little could he have dreamed that as a result of his experiments one billion kilowatt hours of electric energy would be used a half-century later, in a single year, in the reduction of aluminum in the United States. This is equal to all the power consumed by Pittsburgh during ten months. It is equal to all the electric energy consumed in the United States during three and a half days. Somewhere in this story there must be a shock for technocrats.

PAPER OUT OF GLASS

Tin cans may be replacing bottles for beer, and paper containers may be giving the milk bottle a fight, but research in the glass industry is finding new fields for its salesmen. We now have an all-glass windowless building, at Toledo; and our invitation to its previewing was typewritten on glass paper. The walls of the building are of translucent glass, which permits a maximum of light; yet insiders cannot see out and outsiders cannot see in. It was built by a glass company for its own package-research division, where technicians and artists devote themselves to customers' packaging problems. The glass paper is composed of glass fibers to which a small amount of rubber is added as binder. It has been perfected for the chemical industry as a medium for filtering solids from acids to which glass alone is impervious. Non-shatterable glass, now almost mandatory for automobiles, is an older tribute to plate-glass research.

Are YOU a Business Coward?

-and-does it show in your pay-check?

"You've had your chance!" It was the General Manager speaking . . .

"Two years ago I warned you that the only man who should hope to get ahead in this organization was the man with training.

"Merwin was only a bookkeeper then, you remember, but in his spare time he was studying Higher Accounting. I knew what he was doing, and I told you then to keep your eye on Merwin.

"He's had three raises since. He has more than doubled his salary—and he earns every dollar I pay him.

"Last week I recommended him for Assistant Treasurer, and the Board elected him without a dissenting vote. We're mighty glad to have him in the group.

"But you, Jarvis—I hate to say it—you're a business coward. You knew what you would have to do to get out of the small-pay class. You were simply afraid to face the kind of effort and responsibility that could get you a substantial salary.

"And now it's too late. We've got to watch our overhead, and you're one of about five men that we can get along without. We could replace the lot of you tomorrow.

"For your own sake, Jarvis, take a tip from a man who has been through the mill, and this time get busy and learn to do something better than the other fellow.

"Jarvis, there's no end of opportunity in business; but the only man who cashes in these days is the man with the courage to get special training. The offices of this country are simply cluttered up with business cowards. It's easy for the man who trains—because the business coward is through before he starts."

* * *

Are YOU one of several million routine men who have been drifting along in a "low-pay" job—always wishing for more money, never acting?

Are YOU a business coward?

Over 880,000 ambitious men have asked themselves this question during the past twenty-eight years—and replied with a ringing "NO!"

In the quiet of their own homes, without losing an hour from work, these men have mastered the principles of business by

working out the actual problems of business—under the direction of some of the ablest business men in their respective fields in America. Their record of achievement, under the "LaSalle Problem Method," is one of the most thrill-



with always the goal ahead of increased opportunity and greater pay.

Whatever attitude you may have taken in the past—and you may, indeed, have never realized that the difference between the man who "puts it off" and the man who "puts it over" is in the last analysis largely a matter of courage—resolve today to face the problem of your business future squarely.

These men were able to progress more rapidly by means of the "LaSalle Problem Method" than they could have done in any other way, because in their training they faced continually the very problems they must later face on the bigger job. *They learned by doing.*

Moreover, studying alone under the direct supervision of an expert instructor, they progressed as rapidly as their capacity allowed—and that progress was further speeded by the fact that every day they could see themselves developing. This fact took all the hardship out of study—changed it into a fascinating game,

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Modern Salesmanship: Training for all positions in retail, wholesale, or specialty selling.

Law—LL. B. Degree.

Commercial Law.

Industrial Management.

Personnel Management.

Traffic Management: Training for position as Railroad or Industrial Traffic Manager, Rate Expert, Freight Solicitor, etc.

NOTE: If you are undecided as to the field which offers you the largest opportunity, write us a brief outline of your business history and education, and we will gladly advise you without obligating you.

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TWO WAYS TO SEE



Famous as a world cruise liner, Cunard White Star's Franconia

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT BY HARRY PRICE

YOU must have heard of the traveler who went to a railroad station and said he would like to buy a ticket.

"To what station?" he was asked.

"What stations have you?" he asked in turn.

He was a really independent traveler. No one had planned his itinerary. He himself had no idea where he was going.

That is one extreme of independent travel, and the records of the steamship companies in particular show that a surprising number of persons book passages, principally to Europe, with no definite idea of where they will go after leaving the ship or of how long they will remain away from home.

At the opposite extreme is the individual or group in whose conducted tour all arrivals and departures and the intervals between them are neatly planned in advance. For those who have but little knowledge of travel and for those who, even though they are experienced travelers, like to divest themselves of all need of thinking about the details of the trip, the conducted tour is an excellent device.

Somewhere between these extremes is a degree of independence that appeals to innumerable travelers.

If you are thinking of going on an independent trip, let me ask "how independent?"

CONSULT TRAVEL AGENT

For in any event you will be wise to place dependence on the advice of your travel agent. Even if you are

going it entirely alone, and good luck to you if you do, your local counselor can tell you how to save time and money, which hotels are best in the cities and towns you are likely to visit, and so on.

When you get back, maybe you can tell him a thing or two, and he can pass it on to the next client. What he tells and advises you is largely a distillation of the experiences of countless other travelers.

ONCE when traveling through northern Europe, my wife and I followed an itinerary prepared by a famous travel agent. It called for an arrival at a town north of the Arctic Circle at 4 a.m., as noted in the steamship company's schedule, and a departure on another ship that afternoon. For days we looked forward with dread to this early rising. Fortunately we learned in time that, while the first ship arrived at the ungodly hour of 4, it always remained at the pier until

eight, so we were allowed a normal amount of sleep. We told the agent about this when we got home, and he marked "8 a.m." on similar itineraries thereafter. It was the only flaw, and a minor one, in a program covering ten weeks.

If your plans permit, it is usually best to let the agent prepare a complete itinerary. You can follow it with the same "independence" as if you had no itinerary at all, but with vastly greater peace of mind if you are limited for time.

For example, do you know that only three out of every four travelers who want to fly to Central or South America can be accommodated, and that steamship space to those destinations is also hard to buy at certain seasons? This is partly because new equipment is not being provided quickly enough to keep pace with the growing demand. The virtual impossibility of getting to Bermuda during (Continued on page 8)



The author of "Go As You Please", James Albert Wales, president of the N.Y. advertising agency bearing his name, has globe-trotted the Arctic, remoter Europe, the far Pacific Isles, the Caribbean. Famous as a promoter of tourist development and resorts in many lands; Bermuda, for example, which he has visited thirty-six times

THE WORLD

ing today can be a fine art, so expertly and deftly planned that it is a refreshment to body and spirit—bringing relaxation, health and vigor, while at the same time it realizes the dreams of a lifetime.

There are different methods of round-the-world travel, of course; and many a prospective voyager lies awake nights trying to decide between them. To be or not to be a rugged individualist? Shall one go on a conducted world cruise or on an independent itinerary? But it is not so difficult to make a decision if one considers the subject pro and con. First and foremost, what sort of person is the traveler who's contemplating the world cruise?

FEW BORN "MARCO POLOS"

There are a few people—seldom met—who are born Marco Polos; undaunted by "ways that are strange" in the matter of speech, manner, currency, the thousand and one unaccustomed details of travel on the reverse side of the globe. They thrive on battles to the death with customs inspectors or border policemen, and

A HELPING HAND

Conducted Tours Get
This Expert's Vote

"... Then hey for boot and
horse, lad,
and round the world away!"

SO went the old song, urging on to high adventure, to strange ports and far places. It stirs the pulse today, just as it did then. But one can picture that impetuous "lad" before he got many miles on his globe-circling expedition—dusty and disheveled on horseback, bumping about in stage-coaches, or helpless on a becalmed sailing-vessel. No wonder the last line of the song adds, pessimistically, that after the trip is over he should "creep home and take your place there, the spent and maimed among." He would probably have been just about ready to!

What if that rarely intrepid world-traveler of a century or so ago could have had a crystal-flash of the future: a glimpse of the possibilities of going round the world in 1936—strange ports and far places, yes, but on a luxurious ship, in perfect comfort and in *four and a half months' time* or even less? For world cruis-

count that day dull indeed in which they have not missed a boat or taken the wrong train, or otherwise varied their schedule by some "picturesque" mischance.

To these intrepid souls, it gives not a moment's pause to learn that travel in the Orient is quite a different matter from travel in Europe—that when journeying through India by train, for example, one must bring along one's own bedding and have a special boy to look after one;

not to mention unlimited possibilities of being "done" by wily natives if one doesn't know the ropes.

ALL this merely whets the enthusiasm of these gluttons for punishment, who rush in where angels would certainly rely on an experienced travel agent. We need not worry about them for only they themselves and Providence—probably the latter—can do anything about the situations in which they find themselves (or, more often, do not find themselves, for they are likely to miss out on a great deal that they wanted to see and do.)

Are you one of these modern Marco Polos or Don Quixotes?

There is, of course, the experienced traveler who has already taken one or more world cruises and so knows from experience the ports where he would like to make an extended visit. He may well wish to (*Continued on page 9*)



R. E. Coates Photo

"A Helping Hand" is written by T. F. ("Pencil scratch to 534") McGrath, director of publicity and advertising Cunard White Star Ltd. The globe is his travel field, by ship, plane, train and pen. Famous for his publicity campaign in connection with the building, launching and sailings of erstwhile "534", now the giant Queen Mary



The serenely beautiful Blue Hole at Port Antonio, Jamaica, B. W. I.

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

GO AS YOU PLEASE

(Continued from page 6)

March, April, July, and August, unless you reserve far in advance, is another illustration.

Suppose our independent traveler reaches Miami and thinks it would be fun to fly to Montego Bay, Jamaica, in February. He is likely to find that he will have to wait two weeks for a vacant seat in a plane, and that all hotel space has been sold out months before, at that season. If he is in no hurry, he can enjoy the delights of Florida while waiting his

turn, but if he needs to get back within a given time he would have been wise to let his travel agent arrange all these matters entirely to his liking before leaving home.

Our independently-minded traveler should also surrender a few more shreds of his pure native independence, by relying on books, folders, and other sources of information concerning the lands he plans to visit. He will then enjoy them vastly more than if he approaches them in relative ignorance and must make a nuisance of himself by asking elementary questions of all and sundry. At most ports of call he will find guides and sightseeing busses available, but your true independent will use them as little as possible, pre-

ferring to see and think for himself if he has read well and wisely. "On your right, ladies and gentlemen, is the famous—".

DON'T RUSH YOUR SCHEDULE

But let the traveler-on-his-own avoid any temptation to rush through his schedule, or underestimate the time he will require to enjoy something he has crossed half the world to see.

Probably there is no truth in the story of the newly-rich American who asked his guide in Paris; "What's that building over there?" "The Louvre." "All right, cross it off the list—what's next?"

Which reminds me that I once tried to enter the Louvre on a Monday, only to find that that is the only day of the week when it is closed. My travel agent could have told me that if I had asked him.

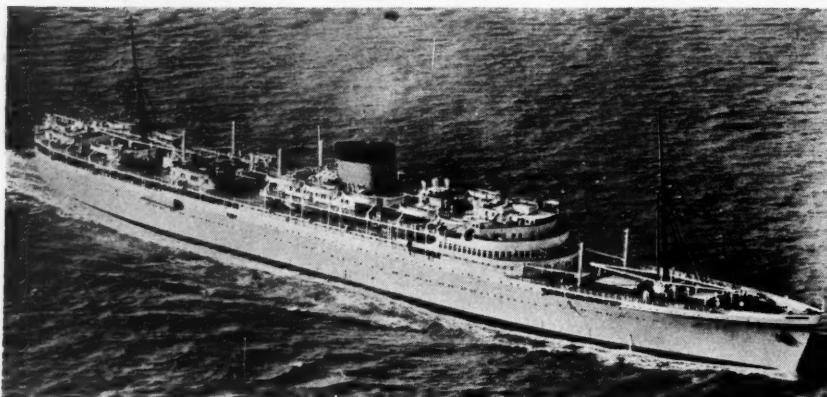
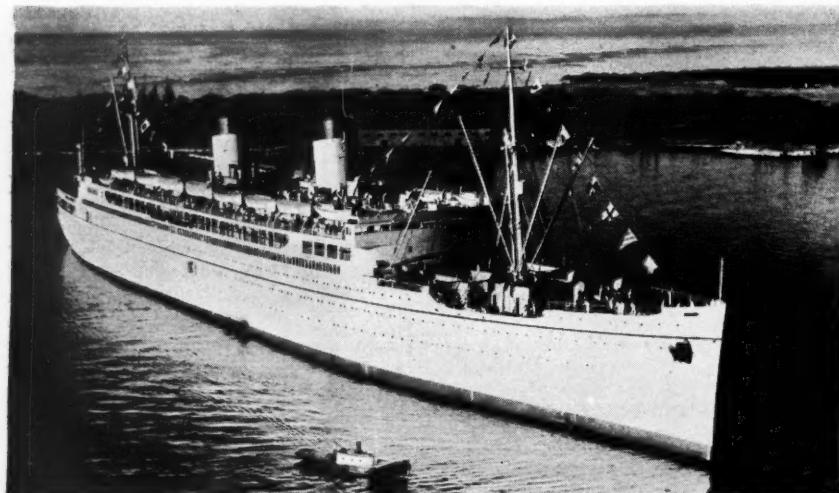
ACCORDING to an old Spanish proverb: "He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him." Dr. Samuel Johnson commented: "So it is with traveling—a man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge."

A Turkish proverb says: "He who has lived much, does not know much; he who has traveled much, knows much."

Our traveler should take with him such knowledge as he can find by reading in advance of his travels. He can absorb much information from books, but he should be too wise to believe *all* he reads! Knowledge and wisdom are two different things. To his acquired knowledge and his innate wisdom he would do well to add a philosophic viewpoint, and a disposition to accept everything cheerfully as it comes, not expecting perfection in climate, weather, or anything else.

Too many travelers, possibly because of taking travel promotion literature too seriously, expect that

(Continued on page 79)



More popular cruise vessels . . . top, the Matson liner Lurline—San Francisco, Los Angeles and Honolulu; center, Union Castle Line's Stirling Castle, fortnightly between Southampton and Cape Town; at right, Hamburg-America's famous Reliance, a veteran in the round-the-world cruise service



TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

A HELPING HAND

(Continued from page 7)

travel independently, in order to stop over for indefinite periods at various ports of call, which of course cannot be done on a conducted cruise with a set itinerary.

He will know from experience that he must necessarily make sacrifices in the way of comfort, accommodations and scope of itinerary by this method of travel; but with special objectives in mind, he will consider that sacrifice worthwhile *for him*. And there is no question that an independent round-the-world itinerary can be expertly arranged, with a minimum of inconvenience to the individual, since the offices of steamship lines and travel agents are so far-flung as to circle the globe in every direction.

To these veteran travelers, accustomed to roughing it in a round-the-world sense, the necessity of frequent trans-shipments and the solitary landings at unknown foreign ports constitute an extra thrill. They, apparently, like to feel alone against the world.

HARMONIES AND ODORS

Even if it occasionally happens that the ships on which they sail are none too clean, or that weird harmonies rise to heaven from natives

herded into the steerage below, or that odors come from rather closer range than the spice islands off to port . . . these strong silent globetrotters are undisturbed. Self-sufficiency is their motto. They do not want to be met or pampered or arranged for.

To such as these, this column takes off its hat—they are adventure-hunters of the first rank, seeking and finding one of the few primitive thrills left in this highly developed civilization.

Independent world-tourists can, of course, minimize the possible discomforts of their route—can stick to the big, modern liners and have every shore excursion planned meticulously in advance.

But to do this entails a serious disadvantage: the big ships on regular round-the-world routes are necessarily governed by movements of world trade. They stop only at great commercial ports. And while there is certainly plenty of foreign color to be found in Osaka, Shanghai, Singapore and Bombay, still the traveler who sees only ports of this calibre will feel that his itinerary lacks something—that he has skirted the shores of all those fascinating islands that dot the Indian and Pacific oceans.

Another possible disadvantage to some travelers is that the schedules of regular trading ships permit only a choice between calls that are too short and calls that may be too long, in some ports. One either sails on with his steamer after the unloading and loading have been accomplished—or one waits for the next ship.

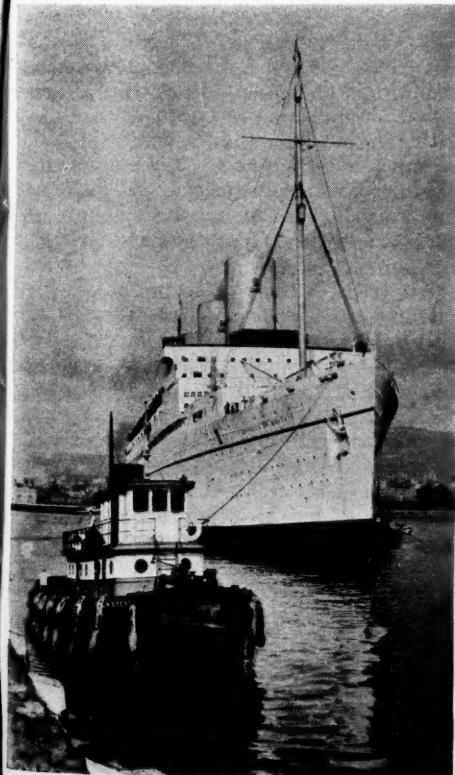
The veteran, again, likes this plan. He has plenty of time and he knows what to do with himself. He will follow the seasons around and come back to his starting place a year or two later. For such as he, most round-the-world lines make available two-year tickets—go as you please, stay where you please. And again we salute those who have the time and courage and energy for such adventure.

Most of us, however, can't do it—it can't take it, perhaps. Of those who read this the great majority will be considering, however vaguely and dreamily, their first world cruise—and, it may be, the only one they will ever make.

THE MONEY FACTOR

Even if money is no factor, the busy demands of existence will most often not permit uncounted months away. And if money is a factor, it

(Continued on page 79)



Largest vessel in the world cruise service, (left)
Canadian Pacific's Empress of Britain, 43,000 tons

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THE LITERARY LANDSCAPE

AN AMERICAN DOCTOR'S ODYSSEY Adventures in Forty-Five Countries

By Victor Heiser, M. D.
Norton, \$3.50

THE GREAT humanitarian triumph of our age lies in the conquest by science of communicable disease, and it happens that Dr. Heiser has been in the midst of that battle for the last thirty years. His book is of first importance as a history of a victory of which any member of the human race may take pride.

It is also of the keenest interest as the personal record of a remarkable man who, for all his becoming modesty, appears from his own careful record to have been able to meet any situation, regardless of what kind of demands it might make upon his intelligence and his ability to get along with people.

Left an orphan at the age of sixteen by the Johnstown Flood, which took the lives of both his father and mother, Dr. Heiser tried a number of occupations before settling upon medicine as a career. His severe early training stood him in good stead once he had made a beginning in his chosen field, and as a young man he became a member of the United States Medical Service. His first important post was the Philippines, which he found dirty and disease-ridden, and which he left cleared of most of the serious contagious and infectious ailments that had long made the islands a plague spot.

Later he joined the staff of the Rockefeller Institute, and became a salesman for health and hygiene in almost every country on the globe. His sixteen voyages around the world as an enemy of disease brought him into contact with all kinds of people, and his observations upon scores of subjects are just as pointed and as interesting as his record of the triumphs of science.

In Naples he met and licked the Camorra during its palmiest days. In Ethiopia he talked to Haile Selassie and saw that the Lion of Judah would be forced to yield to the modern world. He has met and liked headhunters and politicians, conversed with kings and outcasts, and watched one disease after another

disappear from the lists of menaces to mankind.

Such a career could not fail to provide a tremendous store of material rich in human interest, and Dr. Heiser has given us the record with unfailing intelligence and good taste, as well as with no small amount of humor.

Among the season's non-fiction books, which is the September choice of the Book-of-the-Month Club, ranks right at the top in both readability and importance. It may be expected to have wide popularity, and the best of it is that it will provide both pleasure and profit in plenty to its readers. It has universal appeal.

THE OLIVE FIELD

By Ralph Bates
Dutton, \$2.50

For people who are seeking books that will help to explain the turmoil of the moment in Spain, Mr. Bates's well-informed novel may be highly recommended. The work of a young Englishman who proved in his first piece of fiction ("Lean Men", a story of industrial strife in Barcelona) that he had an extraordinary understanding of Spanish character and life, the new novel gives a clear and correct picture of both the agricultural and industrial situation.

The major part of the book is concerned with an olive grove in Andalusia, and the highly detailed manner with which the operations of the farm are treated indicates how deeply Mr. Bates has gone into his subject. His principal characters are Caro and Mudarra, skilled workers and Anarchists, devoted to each other. Their lives become complicated by a woman, Lucia, whom Caro loves and Mudarra seduces.

Against this triangle plot, Mr. Bates explains the economic situation that has given rise to the present civil war in the peninsula; and by shifting his scene to the Asturias, toward the end of the book, he also succeeds in presenting an exciting and accurate account of the fighting in and around Oviedo in 1934, which was an ominous forecast of what is going on today.

The latter part of the book is more hurried and journalistic than



Dr. Victor Heiser's volume, "An American Doctor's Odyssey", is ranked at the top of current non-fiction in readability and importance among books reviewed this month

BY HERSCHEL BRICKELL

the section dealing with olive trees and agricultural problems, but Mr. Bates has learned much about fiction writing since "Lean Men", and aside from the topical interest in his excellent book he has much to say of Spanish character that is of permanent value.

EYES ON JAPAN

By Victor Yakhontoff
Coward-McCann, \$3

General Yakhontoff has spent something like a quarter of a century in Japan and therefore brings to this clear and simple survey of the past and present in the Island Kingdom much more of a first-hand understanding of the Japanese than most people have had the time to acquire.

The thesis of the book is not novel and has been covered in several other volumes—namely, that Japan's tremendously rapid territorial expansion has resulted in an increasingly severe domestic crisis, which may blow up and cripple the nation's imperialistic ambitions. But nowhere else have I found such a condensation of useful information in a single volume as there is here.

The book is not cluttered with statistics and charts, but what figures are necessary are given, and there is also a general absence of bias that makes it infinitely more useful than publications written by people with axes to grind.

General Yakhontoff does not believe that war between Japan and

the U.S.S.R. is inevitable, nor that Great Britain and Japan will fight it, out for supremacy of the Pacific. He is even optimistic about peace between this country and Japan, but he bases his hopes upon co-operation among nations, of which there are very few signs on the horizon at present.

The story of the rise to world power of the kingdom that Commodore Perry snatched from the Middle Ages in 1853 is filled with drama; and whether or not the General is correct in his prognostications, he gives his readers plenty of information, attractively presented.

DRUMS ALONG THE MOHAWK

By Walter Edmonds
Little, Brown, \$2.50

This splendid historical novel by the author of "Rome Haul" and "Erie Water" is easily one of the outstanding works of fiction of the present year and certain to increase Mr. Edmonds' literary reputation as well as to put sizeable royalties into his bank account. It is a better and more important book than its popular predecessors.

The subject-matter is the revolutionary period in the Mohawk Valley, where frontiersmen found themselves fighting a sort of private war while the Thirteen Colonies were struggling for their independence. When they learned that they had to take care of themselves, they proved equal to the task, and the account of how they fought and lived makes thrilling reading.

The time covered is from 1776 to 1784. The characters are drawn with care and skill, the background is complete, and the handling of the complicated narrative is highly skillful. Most readers will find the material itself fresh and novel, but not even the best informed will mind reading the story again as Mr. Edmonds tells it.

This is a piece of fiction that is certain to give pleasure to thousands of people, and that also possesses permanent value as a part of the American story.

GREEN LAURELS

By Donald Aulross Peattie
Simon and Schuster, Illustrated, \$3.75

Mr. Peattie may come to be looked upon as the founder of a new back-to-nature movement in this country. He writes in the best tradition of the people who have known the marvels of the handiwork of God, and he gets better and better as he goes along.

The present book he calls "a biography of ideas", and it traces through the medium of the lives of the great naturalists the development and growth of human knowledge in this field.

The story runs from the earliest days of the study of nature down to the present, written in Mr. Peattie's warm and colorful prose, which is saved from being anything else except pleasant by the obvious sincerity of the feeling that underlies it.

Crowded with interesting personalities and with stimulating ideas, the volume ought to be appreciated by any intelligent reader, regardless of whether or not he has ever felt the stirrings of pantheism.

BALI AND ANGKOR:

"Adventures in Life and Death"

By Geoffrey Gorer
Little, Brown, \$3

Geoffrey Gorer is a young man whose first book, "Africa Dances", stamped him at once as a traveler-writer of the finest variety—that is, a traveler who thinks about what he sees in strange places and tries to wring from his journeyings the significance of the exotic.

The present book, concerned with countries that have been often visited, presents enough of the ordinary impressionistic kind of stuff to make it interesting to anybody, but its true importance lies in the author's reflections upon such things as communism, fascism, happiness in Bali, colonial administration, and (as his sub-title suggests) life and death.

He thinks, and many people agree with him, that the loss of religious experiences in our time—or perhaps we should say mystical experiences—has had a destructive effect on art. His comments upon this situation may strike some readers as too blackly pessimistic, but they can hardly fail to be exciting.

Mr. Gorer writes hard-headed about many things, and there is the feeling of a fine intelligence behind everything he says. He even discusses inspiration—or, as he calls it, mental energy—rationally and simply. Here again, as elsewhere, he ought to prove extraordinarily thought-provoking.

The book is short and will not take more than a free evening to read, but I feel sure that those who understand it will find themselves thinking about its message months after they have finished its final words.

VICTORIA OF ENGLAND

By Edith Sitwell
Houghton Mifflin, \$3.50

With Strachey and Benson before her, Miss Sitwell has added another biography to the growing list about England's great queen. She hasn't added much else, because her sources are secondary, nor does she bring any fresh interpretation of character. There is a good deal of fancy Sitwellian prose, over-elaborated,

NEW DEAL COOK "SPOILS" THE BROTH

Another travesty in rhyme by Arthur L. Lippmann. Cast: Cook Roosevelt, Duchess Farley, Cheshire-cat Landon, Alice Public. Sample: "The Duchess gave The Cat a look that needs a dozen stanzas to properly interpret—but the gist was 'Back to Kansas!' She rocked the bawling baby* with a roly-moley motion while cook was Frank-ly grinning to behold such deep devotion." (The * reminds you that in his Wonderland 4-color illustration, Gregor Duncan has labeled the Bawling Baby "Administration Mistakes.")

Also in LIFE for September, a notable vitrioleditorial by Frank R. Kent: "Both New Dealers and Republicans vie with each other in offering inducements to the boobish masses who have not yet discovered—but will some day when the taxes begin to pinch the poor, as they inevitably must—that this governmental Santa Claus, with his silky whiskers and his charming smile, is not really a public benefactor at all but a low fiscal pickpocket—not even a good fellow."

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and a long list of Victorian perfumes. Otherwise anybody in search of a really good book on the subject would do well to read E. F. Benson, whose study is one of the finest of contemporary biographies of any count. It is hard to understand how Miss Sitwell had the courage to write further on the subject.

THE BIG MONEY

By John Dos Passos
Harcourt, Brace, \$2.75

In this novel of the 1920s, Mr. Dos Passos continues the technique of his other fictional studies of the United States of our times. He uses newspaper headlines, bits of popular song, odd typographical arrangements, the "camera eye", and so on, and those who are interested in such experiments will probably be absorbed by the tricks.

As for me, I am frankly no more impressed than if the publishers had announced that Mr. Dos Passos had written the book while standing on his head. This would have proved him to be an acrobat, but not necessarily a good novelist.

The body of the book is concerned with a number of characters—an aviator, an actress, a wife, and so on. They are supposed to represent the evil influences of capitalism, I believe; but they are more accurate presentations of people who drink too much gin when anything goes wrong, and, having thrown up, drink some more. This pleasant habit they alternate with sleeping in strange beds.

I found the novel tiresome because the people never seemed to matter in the least; they would have gone down under any system, so why blame capitalism for their complete and appalling lack of character?

Mr. Dos Passos's America seems to me a figment of his own imagination, and I doubt the value of his reportage of our period.

The present novel breaks the world's record for the number of times the people in it give up their meals because of too much liquor.

SENSE AND SAFETY ON THE ROAD

By R. B. Stoeckel, M. A. May and R. S. Kirby
Appleton-Century, \$1.50

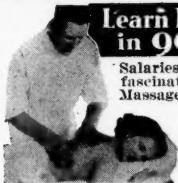
If you have ever been appalled by the number of people killed and injured on the roads of this country, you will find this small volume worth reading. The figures run so high and the prophecies of the increase in accidents are so gloomy that they almost cease to be impressive at all. But the point is that remedies for death by motor car are not keeping pace with the demands.

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ROAD TO EXILE

By Emilio Lussu
Covici-Friede, \$2.50

This is a book that ought to be placed in the hands of all the people who think Mussolini is great because he makes the trains in Italy run on time and can whip the Ethiopians. It is the work of a man who succeeded in escaping from the Italian Devil's Island of Lipari, and it gives in great detail and with careful accuracy the brutalities of fascism under Il Duce.

Perhaps we can no longer be shocked, but if we can there is plenty in this book to shock us. The author points out that the death of Matteoti did not upset Mussolini, as was reported at the time, which isn't really so much of a surprise as it may seem at first. Lussu is careful of his facts, and they are quite enough without exaggeration.

EYELESS IN GAZA

By Aldous Huxley
Harpers, \$2.50

Mr. Huxley, who if he has not always been a good novelist has usually been at least an interesting and intelligent writer, goes completely fantastic in his most recent piece of fiction, which is full of the brotherhood-of-man and a lot of other sentimental tosh. There are spots of good writing, as might be expected, but the thinking is either absent or so wholly unrelated to reality that it has no value. It is one of the poorest of Mr. Huxley's efforts, straight from the ivory tower and sounding about as silly as Charles Morgan's "Sparkenbroke" in its complete removal from this world of ours.

I'M FOR ROOSEVELT

Joseph P. Kennedy
Reynal and Hitchcock, \$1

A calm and careful analysis of the New Deal's advantages and of what he considers the contributions of President Roosevelt to the return of prosperity. There are simple and significant financial tables in the back of the book, showing the remarkable recovery that is taking place.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

BY ALBERT SHAW

POLITICAL PARTIES IN PERSPECTIVE

ELECTIONS in a free country like ours are justly regarded in normal times as political and social safety-valves. They respond to freshly blowing currents of public opinion. They are wholesome in keeping public life from stagnation or from abuse. They search out the men who have gifts of leadership. They stimulate and train younger citizens to replace those who have done their work, for better or worse, in official places.

It is true that election contests also bring to the front corruptionists—the men who seek to gain power by hoodwinking some voters and shamelessly bribing others. But good government will always demand vigilance and courage. There will be rogues to unmask, wolves in sheep's clothing to expose. Elections inflame the fanatics with their strange theories and doctrines. These ordeals of popular self-government compel the more enlightened half of the population to recognize the possible dangers of universal suffrage, while they weigh the advantages. Happily, with the dangers more obvious this year than ever before, all the contending parties and groups are willing to take the chances, and—best of all—to accept the verdict.

THE VIEWS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson did not believe that we could have a successful government if we failed to spread responsibility widely. He had imbibed some of the views of Rousseau and the philosophical theorists of the French revolution. These "doctrinaires" had changed the dominant thinking of France. They had overthrown absolutism, autocracy, and the tyranny of privileged classes. They were precursors of the upheaval that transformed society and rescued the common man from age-long servitude. Rousseau was an apostle of universal education. He knew that communities and states could not maintain institutions for the welfare of the people unless minds were set free and knowledge made available for all. Endorsing these views of human brotherhood on ever higher levels, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia believed in wide extensions of the franchise, realizing that elected officials could not operate governments successfully if ignorant masses wielded political power while education was still restricted to a small minority.

Thus it was that Jefferson became one of the fore-

most historic leaders in the great cause of public instruction for all children and young people. He knew the obstacles that were to be overcome; but he reasoned that America was the country, above all others, that could set the example of a self-governing nation with equality of rights and opportunities, and with an intelligent public opinion guiding and controlling.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, THE EXECUTIVE

It is a hundred and sixty years since Jefferson gave the finishing touches to the Declaration of American Independence that was signed by men from the Northern, the Middle and the Southern Colonies. They were alike serious and intelligent in their acceptance of the principles for the sake of which they entered upon a war of many risks and bitter hardships that was drawn out from 1775 to 1783. In that long contest, Jefferson's political and diplomatic services were invaluable. Meanwhile, a younger leader, Alexander Hamilton—whose talents, like Jefferson's, were of the highest order—was serving at the front with General Washington.

In dealing with concrete issues Hamilton was capable beyond any man of his period, young or old, if we except George Washington himself, who relied upon the young New Yorker as his most versatile and indispensable aid. In far-reaching vision as an exponent of the republican and democratic conceptions, we should be slow to deny the foremost place to Thomas Jefferson. In handling actual emergencies, however, Hamilton was unequalled. They were to be praised as complementary—these two outstanding statesmen of the western world.

The long war had left our young country in a bankrupt condition. Paper currencies had been inflated beyond all possibility of redemption, and had to be abandoned as worthless. This depressed and wretched condition continued for some years after the peace treaty of 1783. It became General Hamilton's supreme task to create a sound financial system when he became Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's cabinet, under the Constitution that was framed in 1787 and ratified in the following year. The election of 1788 resulted in the unanimous choice of Washington as our first president; and the two leading members of his cabinet were Jefferson and Hamilton.

Washington had seen strife and confusion enough on the North American continent. He had known frontier fighting with powerful and treacherous Indian tribes. He was a mere boy in years but with the experiences of a resourceful explorer and a veteran pioneer when he was placed in command of Virginia's colonial army by the British governor, about twenty-five years before the Revolution.

His personal career during half a century gives Washington his unrivaled place as the foremost leader thus far produced in the historic development of the western hemisphere. What he had seen of great wars and lesser wars had taught him to hate contention and to love peace. But he was a realist in his grasp of political facts and in his understanding of international rivalries. He warned his fellow-countrymen in his last appeals to mind their own business, to avoid entangling commitments abroad, and always to be strong enough in the military sense to fight their own battles and protect their own chosen forms of self-government. His advice, not always followed, has never been forgotten.

AMERICA SEEMED DIFFERENT

Political parties in Europe in Washington's lifetime, apart from variations and details, represented the conflict between the traditional authority of dynastic rulers and privileged classes on one hand, and the liberal advance of the common people on the other. But in America we had repudiated everything that pertained to the class system of Europe. Hating needless controversy, therefore, Washington could see no need for organized political parties in this country, contending with one another at each election for place and power, and over-emphasizing superficial disagreements.

In our colonial history there had been enough of factionalism to lead a fair-minded man like Washington to abhor mere ranting and declaiming. Since we were supposed to be in agreement about fundamentals, why should we separate our citizens, placing them in rival camps in such a manner as to give exaggerated importance to transient matters? Able and patriotic representatives at the federal and state capitals ought to adjust these things upon their merits from time to time.

Such were the firm convictions of George Washington as he retired from public life. He had not sought a second term as president. On the contrary he had done everything in his power, short of the most stubborn refusal, to escape the burdens of a second term. Moreover, he did not approve of repeated terms in the presidential chair. He shuddered at the thought that this high office should ever give shelter to a scheming party politician, or to some militarist aiming at dictatorial power, under the pretext that the country need his continued overlordship.

PARTY FEELING DEVELOPED RAPIDLY

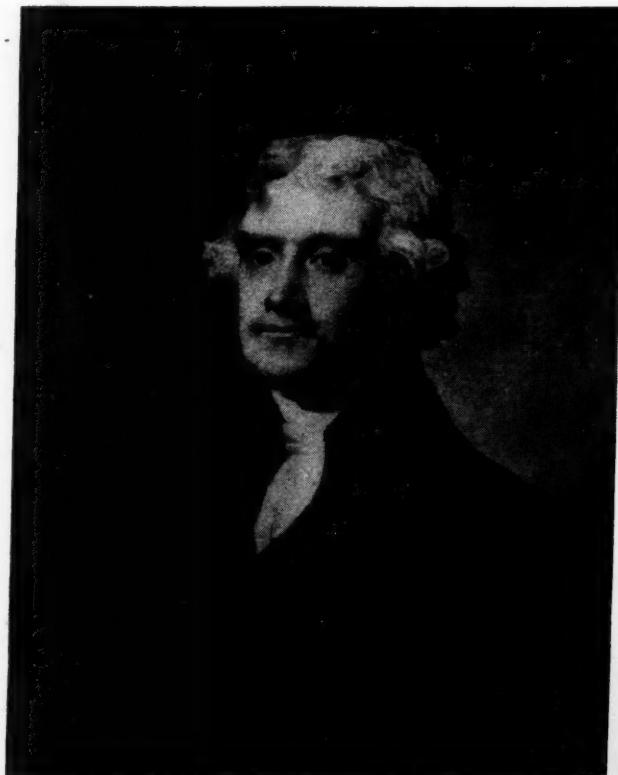
No one in that period could clearly foresee the tendencies that were soon to result in the formation of definite parties of long duration. Experience had to determine, at various stages, what functions respectively should be assigned to the national government and the state governments.

Hamilton saw clearly enough that the Federal government must be as strong as possible, within

its own essential sphere. It would be too weak to survive unless it possessed the means of raising adequate revenue. It must exercise full control in the realm of banking, money and public credit. It must fix the conditions of foreign commerce, and have exclusive military authority.

It was a stroke of masterly statesmanship to assume and consolidate, on the part of the central government, the neglected and troublesome war-debts of the thirteen states. Hamilton, therefore, could not have carried out his great program without placing emphasis upon the need of a strong national government. Originally, he might have gone so far as to reduce the states to mere territorial divisions, for purposes of national administration. But he accepted the plan of 1787 in good faith, and was its ablest advocate in his famous "Federalist" papers. His individual efforts at Albany changed the adverse majority, and secured the New York state legislature's approval of the Constitution.

The states of the Atlantic seaboard north of Virginia had taken to the sea and were more commercial-minded than the Southern states. In the long wars that involved England and France after the revolutionary period, the South and the new West were more in sympathy with France, while the New England and Middle states inclined to favor Great Britain. Washington's death had occurred in December 1799, less than three years after his retirement to Mount Vernon. In spite of his admonitions, intense party feeling developed rapidly. Hamilton was the aggressive leader of the Federalists, while Jefferson was always the oracle of the Democrats. The Jeffersonians laid emphasis upon the reserved powers of the states, and were bitterly op-



Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic party, believed in spreading responsibility among strong states

posed to various Federalist measures, including the alien and sedition laws for which Hamilton was largely responsible.

Personal feuds and rivalries gave the presidency, for a single term succeeding Washington, to the excellent John Adams of Massachusetts rather than to Alexander Hamilton, who had made too many enemies. Such enmities led to the tragic death of Hamilton at the age of forty-seven. The envious and disappointed Aaron Burr trapped New York's great lawyer and statesman into a duel, and killed him with deliberate aim. Hamilton, wholly free from bloodthirstiness, had fired his pistol in the air.

WHAT STUDY WILL REVEAL

American citizens cannot study their political history too thoroughly. We are of opinion that the more carefully they study the better will be the quality of their patriotism. They will discover the essential value of the Constitution, without being afraid to consider on their merits such proposals for further amendments as men of knowledge and experience may advocate from time to time.

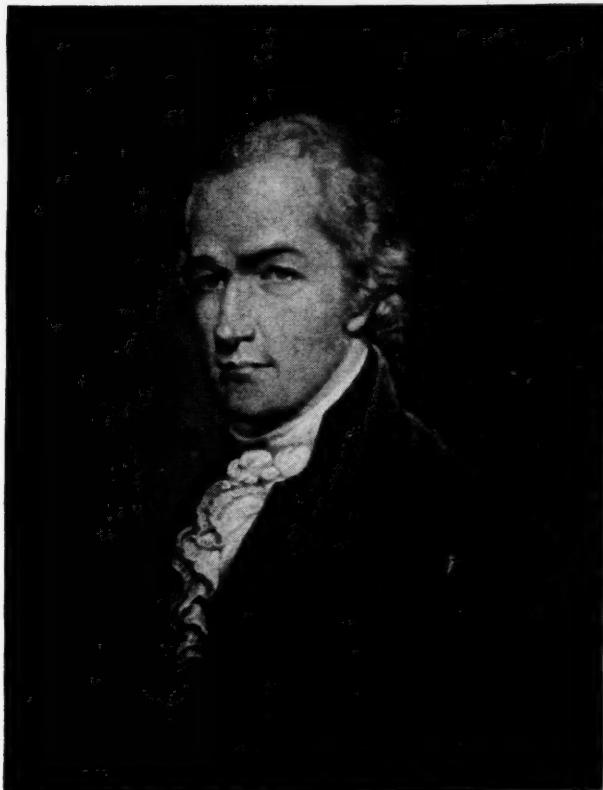
We are in the habit of declaring that our political campaigns are far too long. When a general election occurs in England or France the affair is short and swift as a horse-race. The victorious party assumes actual control of the government within a few weeks after the election is ordered and the rival candidates are in the field. Our system of government, however, is vastly complicated in comparison with that of any European country. No radical changes could be made to simplify this system unless by some process hardly short of a revolution, either peaceful or violent.

CONSTITUTION SOON AMENDED

In the first session of the Congress, elected in 1788 (when presidential electors were also chosen who were unanimous in naming Washington as our first president), twelve amendments to the new Constitution were formulated, and at once submitted to the state legislatures for approval. Two were of minor consequence and never adopted. Ten were ratified before the end of the year 1791. They comprise what is still known as the Bill of Rights. They were intended to safeguard individual liberty, and to emphasize the reserved authority of the states as against undue and aggressive assumptions of authority on the part of the new federal government.

The lack of such provisions had been widely criticised. This lack would have prevented the adoption of the Constitution as submitted by the convention of 1787 if there had not been a general and undisputed agreement that the omission would be corrected at the earliest possible moment. These amendments, therefore, must be regarded to all intents and purposes as parts of the original document.

Jefferson to the very end of his long and influential life attached the highest importance to his authorship of the Bill of Rights in Virginia's state constitution. In this he had provided the pattern for the later federal Bill of Rights. Citizens throughout the country, referring to the constitutions of their own states, will find identical or similar provisions,



Alexander Hamilton, whose Federalist party became Republican, advocated a strong national government

in pursuance of the Jefferson model. They will also, perhaps, become more fully aware than before, that ours is a true federal system, and that the state constitutions are essential parts of the organic legal structure.

John Adams, who was vice-president during Washington's presidency, served in the higher office for only four years, and then gave way to Jefferson. Adams held the respect and confidence of the country; but he was seeking to avoid a war with France while Hamilton and the more aggressive Federalists were ready to fight against insolent encroachments, for freedom of the seas and strict American neutrality. Retiring with dignity at the age of sixty-five, in 1801, John Adams lived in cordial relations with Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who occupied the White House for the ensuing twenty-four years. He survived in vigor of mind and ripeness of wisdom to witness the elevation of his own son John Quincy Adams to the presidency, on March 4, 1825.

PATRIOTISM ABOVE PARTISANSHIP

For those who realize that political strife too often leads strong and able men to sacrifice patriotism to partisanship, there is much satisfaction in the study of the later years of Jefferson and Adams, whose devoted friendship ended only with death. It was a strange coincidence that both should have expired on the same day, July 4, 1826, this being the fiftieth anniversary of their country's independence.

The literary talents of these two elder statesmen as exhibited in their correspondence have been equalled by few if any of their successors. But their devoted patriotism, rising above the pettiness of

factions, the meanness of political tricksters, and the strains of developing sectionalism, set an example of high-mindedness and intellectual probity that might be followed by the lesser men of today. Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, all were men of sincerity. Prejudiced writers have sought to disparage Jefferson; and others of party bias have endeavored to serve the ends of Jeffersonian democracy by attacks upon the motives, character and statesmanship of Hamilton. But impartial students of our political history, seeking truth and not caring to overstrain comparisons and contrasts, are willing to declare the belief that both great parties in nearly equal measure are indebted alike to the doctrines of Jefferson and the policies of Hamilton.

DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN TRADITIONS

Undoubtedly our present Ambassador to Spain, Hon. Claude Bowers, has been largely if not entirely justified in his efforts to establish the Jeffersonian origin and unbroken tradition of the present Democratic party. In his volume entitled "Jefferson and Hamilton—The Struggle for Democracy in America" published eleven years ago, the contrasts may have been stressed unduly, for dramatic effect. Mr. Bowers is always the ardent Jeffersonian, and he has done his best, on various occasions as "keynote" orator, to keep Democracy aware of its inheritance.

To render even-handed justice, and to find in both great parties a continuity of tradition and tendency that must at least appeal to the spirit of loyalty to party standards, Mr. Bowers finds Alexander Hamilton the chief founder of the great Republican party of today. Hamilton's Federalist party was re-born, after its early eclipse, as the Whig party of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. Through leaders like Seward, the party came once more to life and power when merged with the Free Soil movement that took form in 1860. The Democrats were split on sectional lines in that campaign, and Abraham Lincoln was elected as leader and exponent of the Republican Party seventy-six years ago.

There are many other interpreters available besides the talented Bowers, who would perhaps admit some partisan bias. No current writer has covered so much biographical and historical ground in these same fields as James Truslow Adams. This thorough student and fascinating writer can be recommended alike by Republicans and Democrats.

PARTY SYSTEM ESTABLISHED

In hundreds of places, throughout the entire area of our forty-eight states, there are public libraries directed by men and women eager to serve by helping citizens young and old to study American political history. Every presidential campaign tends to become acrimonious, as the long weeks of suspense move forward to the November climax. Public speakers often cite past occurrences. Sometimes they distort facts. Too frequently they misrepresent individuals. There could be no better time for young citizens to deal with disputed points, not by heated argument in bad temper, but by going to the library and looking up the facts.

Our party system has become a part of the ma-

chinery of government. Great efforts are now being made on all hands to enroll young citizens as members of one party or another. This is to be expected, and not to be condemned. The so-called "organizers" are working under the direction of the respective managers of the pending campaign, whose business it is to enlist voters rather than to encourage independent thought, or to give unbiased instruction.

It is true enough that most voters are already committed, and will follow their party leaders and emblems. Yet the factors of uncertainty are greater than usual this year. Citizens in general have found it best to enroll themselves as members of a party; but their consciences are their own, and so are their votes. Several million regular Democrats voted for Hoover in 1928 and they were chiefly in the South. Almost as many Democrats had voted for Coolidge in 1924, but they were more generally in the North and West. Many Republicans voted for F. D. Roosevelt in 1932 who will vote for Landon this year.

These unbossed, independent voters represent our very best citizenship, because they are capable of doing their own thinking, and take their political duty seriously. Their occasional "bolting" is what keeps their parties from collapse through dry-rot or foul misconduct. This is a lesson that young voters should take to heart.

EDUCATED FOR RESPONSIBILITY

Our neighborhoods have accepted the view that their largest item of public expense in normal times must be that of providing for universal instruction in good schools. The avowed object is to make young people useful members of society, capable of taking care of themselves, and fit for the responsibilities of citizenship. Young voters who have had these school advantages should take council with more experienced friends whom they admire and trust, and should give their votes on election day with good conscience, and not as party mobsters or junior political racketeers.

Quite recently there have been general elections in England, France, and some other European countries. The English voters had nothing to do but cast their ballots for a member of the House of Commons for the district in which they were registered. Their minds were concentrated upon the one point of giving control in Parliament to the leadership of one party or that of its opponents. The French system is similar in many ways to the English. The voters elect their Chamber of Deputies. The French President, who is not an executive officer, is chosen rather on personal than narrow party grounds by joint action of the two legislative chambers.

EUROPEAN SYSTEM SIMPLER

Not one European voter in a million has any conception of the complicated nature of our American elections in the present year. In the first place, we are choosing a president. As at present exercised, the power of this office is far greater than that of any other government executive in the world, with two exceptions, these being Mussolini and Hitler. We are also electing all the members of the House of Representatives, and one-third of the members of the United States Senate. Under the Constitution as

written, full legislative authority is vested in Congress, with complete control over the raising of national revenues by taxation, and the expenditure of money for purposes within the range of those powers that are committed by the states to the federal government.

The President appoints members of the federal judiciary, but such appointments must be confirmed by the Senate. The Executive also negotiates treaties, but these are subject to approval or disapproval by the Senatorial body. He appoints and dismisses the heads of departments, and many thousands of civilian employees of the federal government, subject to rules and regulations prescribed by Congress.

THE COUNTRY GROWS

It might well be considered that the national elections once in four years should stand apart. But such is not our present system. We have needlessly complicated the business of the quadrennial election-day by making state and local elections coincide with federal. This has come about through the development of practical politics as a profession and means of livelihood for a large and increasing percentage of our population.

In most of the states we are choosing governors and state tickets this year. We are also electing state legislatures, most of which will be in session early in January. In several thousand counties we are electing officials with a wide range of duties. Thousands of townships and municipalities will put their local affairs to the test on this same election day in early November. In most of the states there are primary elections, which choose party candidates and which are under regulations prescribed by law.

The management of these local affairs ought to be removed as far as possible from the sphere of national politics. But the machinery of the rival organizations works insistently from the top to the bottom, and then in reverse gear it works from the bottom back to the top.

Must the plain voter, who does not like this exhaustive sweep of party politics and who cannot himself reconstruct a system that is so firmly entrenched, feel that he has no alternative but to vote one straight party ticket or else the other? Fortunately, we have some millions of citizens who are willing on election day to give themselves trouble enough to vote what is called a "split ticket".

There are at least a million citizens in New York state who will choose between Roosevelt and Landon, and who will then as a separate act vote either for Lehman or against him, as head of the state ticket. Politicians have learned, of course, that it is easier in a presidential year to carry partisanship all the way down the line than in years when local elections do not coincide with national contests. But at least one voter in five has learned to resist the pressure of party machines, and to pick and choose, to "scratch" and "bolt", at his own sweet will.

IF THEY COULD SEE US NOW

If the early statesmen, from George Washington to Andrew Jackson, could be brought back to us as

observers during the present month of September, it would be immensely exciting to find out what they would think of the working of the Constitution as it has survived the one great strain to which it was subjected by the Southern secession of three-quarters of a century ago. There might be some differences of opinion among these returning elders, looking on at our present situation; but we think it more likely that they would agree quite well.

MISTAKES WOULD BE RECOGNIZED

They would be surprised at certain changes that have come about, such as they could not have anticipated. But even more they would be surprised to find their Constitution held in such reverence, and in its major aspects so little changed. Some of us would expect to find the Virginia leaders, including Patrick Henry and George Mason, in agreement with their contemporaries of New York and New England. We should count upon finding Jackson and Clay, Webster and Calhoun, holding the same general views as Jefferson and the elder Adams.

We may believe that they would be quick to discover certain serious mistakes of their own. Undoubtedly the most obvious mistake would be noted at once and unanimously regretted. This was the set-up of the United States Senate as a chamber of superior powers, with equality of state representation. A second mistake would be found in the too short terms of members of the House of Representatives. A third mistake—they would all concede with impressive emphasis—was the failure to limit the president to a single term.

Little Rhode Island made conditions; and Delaware was demanding equality with Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York. To purchase their acceptance of the Constitution, it was provided that the Senate should be composed of two senators from each state; and it was further provided in the article relating to amendments that "no state without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate". Regarding various points there had to be compromises, with some trading behind the scenes. Thus, the permanent location of the capital at the headwaters of the Potomac was involved in the log-rolling and bargaining.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR STATEHOOD

There was no serious harm in giving Rhode Island and Delaware two Senators at the outset. But many new states, some of them in the near future, were to be carved out of the national domain. If the Mississippi River had remained our permanent western boundary, no permanent lack of balance would have resulted from equality of states in the Senate. The earlier new states had ample resources, were of suitable size, and were rapidly settled, from Ohio to Wisconsin and from Kentucky to Alabama and Mississippi.

But practical results of an unsound formula were to appear many years later, when the national domain extended to the Pacific, and there arose enormous political pressure for the conversion of raw, under-peopled territories into full-fledged states. The fight over admitting Kansas and Nebraska had been a phase of the sectional differences that led to the war between the states. The admission of Texas

and California was obviously appropriate; while Oregon had bright enough prospects. There could never have been serious question about Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota. West Virginia and Nevada provide each its own chapter of history relating to the exigencies of the Republican party in the civil war period.

The admission of states belongs to the permanent structure of a federal system like ours. It ought never to have been a matter of politics on the party level. Things of this kind, done in haste, cannot be undone at leisure. Political scheming and the pressure of "boom" speculators in land, mines and railroads swept in six new states on the same movement early in the term of Benjamin Harrison. It was all done without care or discrimination.

MORE AND MORE STATES

The territory of Dakota was divided to make two states, and they were admitted in November 1889. Montana and Washington followed, all within nine days. In July of the following year (1890) Idaho and Wyoming were admitted, few people in the United States knowing where they were or what were their claims to statehood.

Colorado had been admitted very hopefully in 1876, as another defensible Republican adventure. Utah was kept out until 1896, and then admitted after a Mormon state convention had given certain pledges in order to overcome eastern prejudice.

There remained the territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and the country that had been assigned to the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and other tribes as a permanent home. Indian titles were gradually extinguished for a large part of this domain, and a temporary division was made for administrative purposes. Not long after the death of President McKinley in 1901, a so-called "Omnibus Bill" was slipping through both houses of Congress with the utmost of ease, providing for the admission of what is now Oklahoma as two states with a ragged line separating them, and for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico with their present boundaries.

The spoils had already been divided. Eight would-be Senators were wearing the robes of high office, in their own minds. Candidates for the House of Representatives had been picked, as had governors and state officers, by juntas of scheming politicians.

ONLY ONE OKLAHOMA

Quite unexpectedly there came a hitch in the proceedings. Senator Beveridge of Indiana, who had given no particular attention to the pending bill, had succeeded to an unsought chairmanship of the Committee on Territories. Some things then happened that are not on the record. With a quick mind and firm will-power, the new chairman accepted good advice and held up the Omnibus Bill until it could be investigated upon its merits. The bill was an unworthy log-rolling scheme, and it was blocked.

There was much less excuse for splitting Oklahoma than had seemed a dozen years earlier to justify dividing Dakota. Oklahoma had the making of a state of normal size, population and resources, on a par with its near neighbors, if admitted as a single state. This fact was too obvious to be denied after the scheme had been exposed. On its own merits, and

with full propriety, Oklahoma was admitted as an undivided state in 1907.

Arizona and New Mexico had ample areas but scanty populations. They were unwilling to be admitted as one state, and they were finally admitted separately, but not until the year 1912.

BALANCE OF POWER

Any school boy can do the sums in political arithmetic that would disclose certain facts suggested by the equality of the forty-eight states in the Federal Senate. A series of states of relatively small population now hold the balance of power in that body. How this fact has affected recent laws and administrative policies would be quickly understood by all the elder statesmen if they could be brought into council.

They would also perceive the bearing of this discrepancy between the population of the larger and smaller states upon the plan that they had devised for electing the president. The electoral college is composed of members in each state who equal membership of the two houses at Washington. Thus voters in the new states of the farther west have far greater representation in the electoral college than citizens of populous states like Texas, California, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York.

CURBING SENATORIAL PREROGATIVES

President Roosevelt and his campaign managers are fully aware that the election is likely to turn upon the choice of presidential electors in these minor states, from the Dakotas and Montana, Idaho and Wyoming to Nevada, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico. The elder statesmen would probably admit that if the Senate itself were not abolished—a subject for future rather than present discussion—the equality of state membership would have to continue as a practical matter. But they would agree that the Senate as now constituted is not responsive to American public opinion.

They would probably suggest, therefore, that the special powers conferred upon the Senate by the Constitution should be removed by a simple amendment. This might transfer confirmation of judiciary and other appointments, and ratification of treaties, to the House of Representatives. They would agree that this House should be strengthened in every way, while the Senate should be reduced, perhaps, to the status of a debating society. This would follow the example of England in reducing the authority of the House of Lords.

COMPLICATED ELECTION MACHINERY

Andrew Jackson would find that the further experience of more than a hundred years since he succeeded John Quincy Adams in the White House had confirmed, beyond question, certain views that he had set forth repeatedly while holding office. Year after year in his annual messages to Congress President Jackson urged an amendment to the Constitution that would restrict the Chief Magistrate to a single term. With equal conviction he had condemned the existing method of electing the President, and favored a simpler and more direct system. It is hard

to believe that any of the framers of the Constitution could now have a word to say for the retention of the electoral college.

Though elected in 1828 and 1832, Jackson never ceased to resent the use of our ill-devised machinery to defeat him in 1824. He had received a plurality though not a clear majority of the electoral as well as the popular vote. The election was thus thrown into the House of Representatives, with one vote for each state. An anti-Jackson combination secured a majority of states for John Quincy Adams.

Father Coughlin, Mr. Lemke, Dr. Townsend and the promoters of the Union third-party movement, as we remarked last month, declare their belief that neither Roosevelt nor Landon will have a majority in the electoral college. If this should prove true, the choice of a president would be made by the House of Representatives, each state having one vote. Nevada would exactly equal New York in electing a president, although New York has a hundred and forty times as many voters as Nevada. Idaho would offset Pennsylvania. Wyoming would have precisely the same power as Ohio. Illinois or Michigan would not outweigh Arizona or New Mexico.

FARLEY KNOWS HIS POLITICS

Chairman Farley is not an authority upon the Constitution, but he knows politicians and they have told him where to put the money and the campaign work. President Roosevelt, whose understanding of political machinery is unsurpassed, knows exactly why it is important to concentrate upon the effort to gain control of these states of small population but of excessive membership in the electoral college. He knows that if the third-party movement should gain strength enough to throw the election into the House, these states of the wind-swept regions of mountain and arid plain would assuredly hold the balance of power and determine the result.

The very badness of this system is the chief obstacle in the way of its abolition. It becomes so involved in the game of practical politics as played by unscrupulous men and selfish regional interests that its reform is always postponed to some indefinite time when it will not spoil the immediate schemes of politicians and speculators.

SECOND TERM EVILS

Andrew Jackson has not been alone in pointing out the harmfulness of what may be called second-term pressure. When Grover Cleveland was first nominated he stated the facts most convincingly, and declared that he would refuse a nomination for a second term. He meant what he said; but the pressure of the office-holding horde was at the last too great to be resisted. They wanted to hold their jobs for four years more, and Cleveland consented to run for a second term.

He had been a good enough president, but under the circumstances his defeat was salutary. Benjamin Harrison, with even better qualifications, was also a good president and served for a single term. Whereupon Grover Cleveland, now highly fitted by experience and further study in private life, was elected again, for what everyone knew to be a single term; and he reached the full stature of a president standing up to his oath of office.

No public man was ever more faithful to a justly formed conviction than was William J. Bryan when in 1896 as the Democratic nominee he declared that he would adhere to the single-term principle if elected.

PERPETUATING AUTHORITY

It is true that the people have the ultimate remedy for this evil in their own hands. They can by their votes defeat the candidate who uses his office to control the party and thus secure renomination, and who then employs official patronage and the energies of the whole office-holding body to carry the election. Mr. Taft's administration was injured by the struggle of his supporters to make him a two-term president. A single term for Woodrow Wilson might (in the opinion of many men who were in close touch with the situation) have resulted in the maintenance of our neutrality.

Taking swift but impartial note of the methods now employed by the Administration, with all the resources of the people's Treasury at their command, to extend the personal rule of Mr. Roosevelt beyond the present year, might we not conjecture that the earlier statesmen (brought back in imaginary conclave) would declare unanimously against a second consecutive term? Quite apart from the merits or the faults of the so-called New Deal policies, the fact will not be disguised that the methods used by men now in office to perpetuate their authority and to protect their emoluments are of such a kind that a self-controlled man must resort to the emphasis of understatement to show how intense is his disapproval.

It would insult the intelligence of real students to assert that anything even faintly resembling this fight for a second term, with its use for political purposes of billions of dollars of so-called relief money, has had any precedent in our own annals or in the contests of any other modern country, great or small. Our wise men of old, looking with clear and impartial eyes upon this amazing spectacle, would almost certainly agree that it should have been prevented by the adoption of a single-term regulation for the occupancy of our highest office.

CAMPAIGN TACTICS TODAY

When Senator Norris framed the amendment that changes the dates of Congress sessions, he was preparing a more far-reaching innovation than was commonly realized. If at the same time his amendment could have gone farther and provided six-year terms for Representatives, with the three-class system of the Senate, he would have accomplished a reform of fundamental importance.

Nothing in the conditions of the United States calls for the dismissal of the entire House of Representatives every other year. A six-year term, with one-third of the House retiring every two years, would give us a stable and representative law-making body in which our ablest men might be induced to sit. The Congress that retires this year has taken orders from the White House, and has delegated its functions regardless of the Constitution to irresponsible bureaucrats. With longer terms for repre-

sentatives, we would never again behold the spectacle of a rubber-stamp Congress.

It may so happen that the present year will bring results of a kind to make future candidates adopt the single-term principle of their own accord. It is offensive to witness the power of the executive offices used deliberately to coerce a party, when its best-known leaders, as in the present year, were opposed to granting renomination. It is even more offensive to see official bureaus, handling the tax-payers money, shamelessly prostituted at the command of campaign managers. A situation of this kind ought somehow to be headed off in advance. The only short-cut method would lie in fixing the rule of a single term.

For the more immediate correction of many evils, the practical remedy must be found in the election of a responsible Congress in the present November. It is not of chief importance that Congress candidates should give nominal adherence to one presidential ticket or to another. The test to be applied to such candidates is that which Senator Glass of Virginia has always applied to himself. He is at Washington to do his duty, and to vote at no man's dictation.

Many of the New-Deal Congressmen elected two years ago won their seats by small pluralities. It is claimed with some reason that a number of these seats will be regained by Republicans. No one knows yet how far the pendulum will swing in the Republican direction. But at least there is good reason to think that Republicans and actual Democrats taken together will have a clear majority in the House over men who would still wish to delegate the law-making power to Professor Frankfurter and the bureaucrats.

METHODS VERSUS OBJECTIVES

Mr. Landon if elected will have no private group at his elbow to write this country's laws, with the idea that Congress will take them without reading them. We have never yet discovered a man, or heard of one, who has read half of the laws (with the regulations having the force of law) that the New Deal has inflicted upon the country in a period of less than four years. Voters can at least ask all candidates for Congress in their respective districts whether or not they are willing to allow that sort of relationship—between what were once coördinate branches of the government—to go on unchallenged.

This criticism of ours is aimed at methods rather than at objectives or achievements. No sensible man would wish to tear down the work of the Roosevelt administration in so far as it deserves to stand. Mr. Landon has seemed to show a fair temper and spirit in making these discriminations. He is in much closer contact with the needs and reasonable desires of actual farm-owners and rural communities, all the way from the Mississippi River to the Rocky mountains, than eastern men like Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Tugwell.

Both parties have agreed to promote soil conservation. Mr. Landon would do it on an expert non-partisan plan, with the states themselves taking the lead on their own behalf. The Republican proposals for dealing with unemployment, and with the administration of relief, would be as humane as those formulated in the Democratic platform; but

they would reject the methods of the Hopkins W. P. A., from start to finish.

We are glad to have secured from the pen of Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy an article interpreting the New Deal from the standpoint of a business man of conspicuous ability. There are certain New Deal measures relating to the country's affairs that will stand the test of experience, at least in purpose and principle. Mr. Kennedy's relations to the administration have been such that he can elucidate its policies as favorably as the facts would warrant.

If certain policies are good, let us maintain them. But if certain methods of administration are shockingly bad, let us repudiate them. If we reëlect Mr. Roosevelt for another term, let the Democratic and Republican parties agree to uphold him as a strictly constitutional president.

PARTY ORGANIZERS AT WORK

The country is now quite well informed about the vast mechanism of campaign pressure and propaganda that has been set at work under Chairman Farley's direction. Against this official machine aided by the Democratic party organization, chiefly at the cost of the taxpayers, is the lively campaign force that has been organized on behalf of the Landon-Knox ticket by the Republican chairman, Mr. John Hamilton. Mr. Clapper, writing of the campaign especially from the standpoint of personalities, presents an interesting array of the individuals who are in posts of leadership.

It stands to reason that political groups may be largely vouched for by their own chosen leaders. When Father Coughlin pledges his following to the support of the Lemke ticket, it will mean a substantial vote for the new Union Party. Political societies handle political goods. But if a group of bishops should undertake to say how Methodists would vote, their action would be resented. They were not made bishops to handle Methodist votes in the mass.

LABOR NOW IN POLITICS

The same thing is true of John L. Lewis, William Green and other salaried officers employed by trade unions. These men have nothing to do with the votes of the Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and Townsendites who happen to hold union cards and pay their dues. When Lewis and others strike bargains with President Roosevelt, stating how many million votes they can deliver, they are talking outside of their spheres. They command their own personal votes, and perhaps those of their young women stenographers. The term "labor" means everybody in this country except grafters and racketeers, and a few luxurious people not capable enough even to be listed as "economic royalists". Most of the men who pay dues as members of closed-shop unions do it for safety from terrorism, and not from love of an obsolete and losing cause.

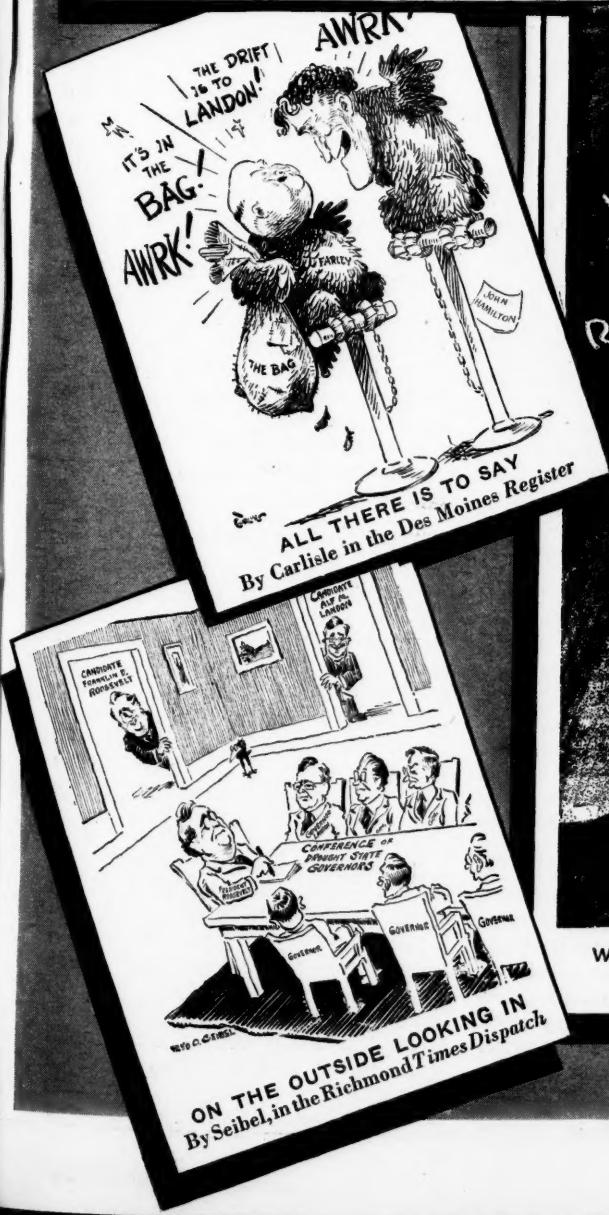
When we contemplate the domestic political ferment and the international feuds, fears, and troubles that affect other continents, we have reason to be grateful for the relative harmony that prevails in North America. Our election contest is indeed serious, having its roots in the war and its aftermath of economic disaster. But we shall have a peaceful verdict at the polls, and abide by the results.



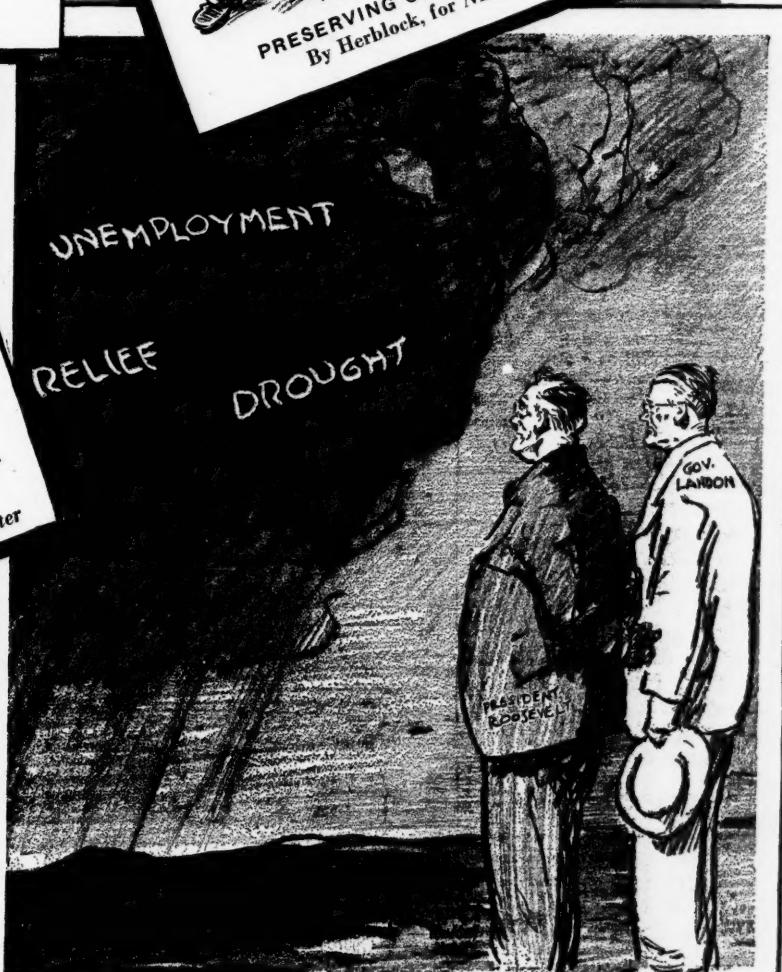
THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER
By Cassel, in the Brooklyn *Eagle*



PRESERVING OUR GOVERNMENT
By Herblock, for NEA Service



ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN
By Seibel, in the Richmond *Times Dispatch*



WHICHEVER IS ELECTED WILL FIND THE SAME DARK CLOUD
By Kirby, in the New York *World-Telegram*

WHY I'M FOR

A BUSINESS MAN'S ESTIMATE OF

I HAVE as much of a stake in the future of this country as any critic of the New Deal. I am as much concerned as anyone could be to hold on to what I have and to protect my family. I am interested in maintaining a system that will keep my family secure. I believe that I can best accomplish this by co-operating with the forward-looking program of the New Deal. Nobody can give any thought to trends all over the world and fail to appreciate that we are living in an era of great social fermentation which is bound to leave its mark on the America of the future. I don't believe it is safe to try to turn the clock back.

My feeling about the New Deal is one of gratitude for preserving our American system from the grave crisis in which a planless and leaderless economy had plunged it. We are only three years from a period such as we should not care to go through again. My attitude toward this election is one of concern lest our progress toward a pattern of safety should be tossed out the window.

What is the argument for turning the clock back? I hear no argument that is addressed to the logic of the electorate. Lacking a case, the opposition is trying to scare the people away from Roosevelt. This has been tried before. It was tried in 1932. We recall with a smile the prophecy about grass in the city streets. If all the dire prophecies of 1933 had had any foundation our concern now would not be over who is to be elected, but whether any of us would have anything left.

PROSPERITY HAS RETURNED

The opposition has launched a campaign of hysteria which seeks to smother the constructive accomplishment of the New Deal under such meaningless epithets as "regimentation", "communism", "un-American". Because the minority representing the wealth of the nation are more vocal than the mass of the people, and because their views are controlling with the great part of the press, a great blather about the radicalism of Roosevelt fills the air.

This strikes me as pretty silly. If the return of good times is a valid

argument to the voters—and it has always been orthodox Republican dogma—then we ought to hear little or nothing on that score from the opponents of the President.

The hard cold statistical facts show a degree of recovery that is



perfectly amazing. According to the Federal Reserve Board's Industrial Production Index, by June of this year we had regained almost two-thirds of the loss suffered during depression. Taking the 1929 rate of production as the standard, we were in June back at eighty-eight per cent of the total, from a low of forty-nine per cent in 1932.

Our employment is at 82 in contrast to the figure of 56 for March, 1933, and the rise is constant, indicating a broadening of our recovery. Almost daily for weeks the financial pages have been carrying the story of tremendous corporate profits, the "best quarter in six years".

The unmistakable evidence of returning prosperity has at last forced the opposition to change their tune. They had been declaiming that the Roosevelt prosperity was a mirage. With all the business indices pointing steadily upward, they still chanted that this was only a phantom recovery based upon government spending, and they waited for the bubble to burst. But the reality

of the recovery has proved so overwhelming that now they are saying this did not come because of the President, but in spite of him.

It will be devastating evidence that men soon forget, if such arguments avail to change the allegiance of the mass of American voters to President Roosevelt. The contrast between the relative inaction of former President Hoover, ending in an agonizing spiral of deflation, and the courageous activity of President Roosevelt, resulting in a steady return of the economic curves to good times, should be enough to confute those who claim that time alone has cured us.

To my conservative friends I urge a careful, unemotional survey of the Roosevelt record. They might begin with the platform of the Republican party. Once past its sonorous preamble, it runs in almost complete endorsement of the New Deal program. Plank by plank it advocates what Roosevelt has sponsored. Looking beyond the shadow of the Republican platform promises to the substance of the Roosevelt accomplishment, an impartial reading of the record shows that the President has successfully joined reform with recovery, to sustain and vitalize our capitalistic system.

ATTACKED ON BOTH FLANKS

Before the conservative elements are deceived by the campaign shibboleths, they should look again to see who condemns him. If they accept what their fathers said of Cleveland, "We love him for the enemies he has made", President Roosevelt would be the darling of the conservatives. I have to rub my eyes to read in the same day's papers of the attacks upon the President by the extreme right and the extreme left. According to one group he is a rabble rousing enemy of business initiative, sadistic in his feeling toward Wall Street. According to the other he is "a tool of Wall Street fawning upon the money changers still doing business in the temple."

In the camp of the President's enemies we find a fusion of those elements that the conservative press characterizes as the lunatic fringe:

Roosevelt

THE NEW DEAL by JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

Lemke and his inflationists; Father Coughlin with his Union for Social Justice; Dr. Townsend and his advocates of transaction taxes to pay \$200 a month pensions to the aged; the Rev. Gerald F. P. Smith, wearing the mantle of the late Huey Long, leading the Share-the-Wealth clubs; Norman Thomas and the orthodox Socialists; Browder and the Communist Party.

What do the real radicals say about Roosevelt? A very astute Socialist argues against him: "The American bourgeoisie could have searched far and wide before finding a more devoted and effective champion of their cause. He had no desire to disturb the bases of the existing order but wanted only to preserve and strengthen them. To point out that the beneficiaries of the profit system have not been united in supporting Roosevelt in everything he has done is not to prove that he is the enemy of the profit system, but is merely to emphasize that, like the workers, the capitalists can rarely agree on what may be in their best interest."

Because the issues of a national campaign are so numerous and complex in an essay of this character one must necessarily limit himself to a few considerations. A more detailed exposition of my views on a wider front are set down in a volume

recently published entitled, "I'm for Roosevelt".

The Republican strategy is concentrating its attack upon the spending policies of the administration, not only on the score of size, but also as to efficiency and motive. But there are certain indisputable points about this issue that a thinking populace is entitled to hear before it makes up its mind.

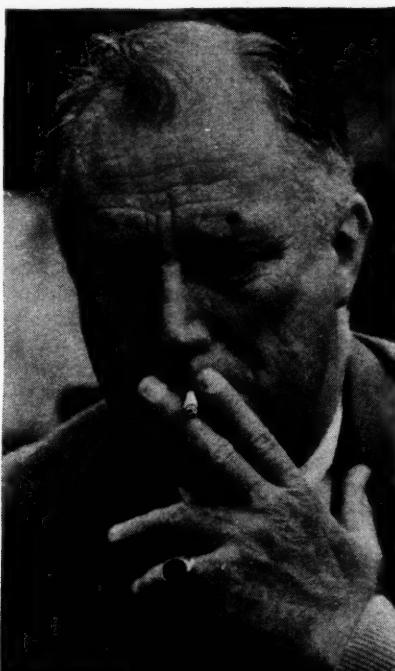
RELIEF MUST BE FACED

First it is important to remember that the unbalancing item in the budget is the expenditure for relief. Omitting the bonus, which fortunate-

ly is not recurring, the budget of the federal government could be balanced if there were no need for federal expenditure in the field of human relief. All talk of a balanced budget in the absence of a realistic appreciation of the problem of relief is sheer nonsense.

Everybody now agrees that large sums of money had to be spent for the relief of human want, and that regardless of the method of disbursement control the immediate source of funds had to be and will yet have to be for some time, the Federal treasury.

I am a little puzzled that those comfortable people who so like to make relief a target of their criticism never criticize relief to business. The immense support that business has derived from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is seldom discussed by the critics. Loans to banks, insurance companies and railroads were perfectly proper, although it is difficult to make them square with the rugged individualism that so many of the recipients of these loans have urged as the pattern for American life. The RFC was established by President Hoover to sustain our credit structure as values fell and confidence disappeared. When the banking holiday struck the financial mechanism of America there was



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palsied fear on all sides for the future of our society. President Roosevelt extended the activities of the RFC so that the credit of the government could function even more broadly in the common welfare.

It ill behooves the beneficiaries of these loans, the managements of some of our largest enterprises, to criticize spending for relief now that they feel secure with the threat of disaster behind them. The President had to think of the welfare of all the people, and that included officials, employees, depositors, policy-holders, stockholders, tax payers and unemployed. Our present sound status is evidence that he has acted wisely.

Relief and the need for relief continues in the face of business recovery. Unemployment is a problem that is likely to require planning for some time to come. We need to remember that we had vast unemployment even in boom times. The figures for 1929 are placed between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000. Man-displacing machinery has accentuated, and will further accentuate, the problem of unemployment. The depression itself has made business more efficient. The individual employee in recent years was often required to do more work than in prosperous days. This efficiency continued as business came back. Re-employment has consequently not kept step with business recovery.

Great Britain has had a strikingly similar experience. There for some years the production index has been at the 1929 level, and yet unemployment has come to be regarded as a permanent phenomenon for which the State must provide.

The atmosphere is charged with the accusation that relief has been handled as a political tool. Let us examine the charge.

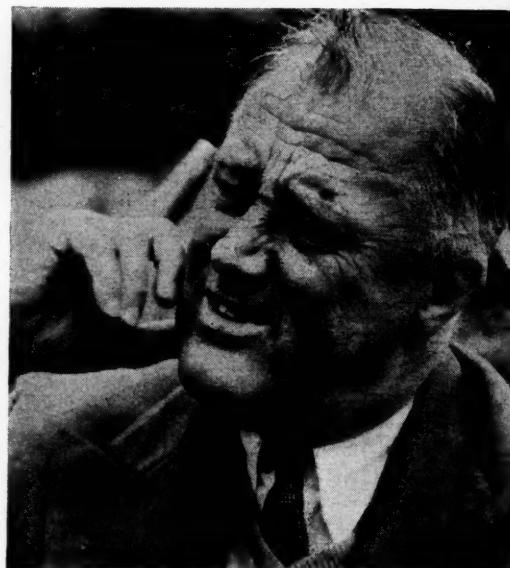
If we assume the President was half the snide politician that his opponents charge, he would certainly have given the job of overseeing the relief expenditures to some practical politicians, who might be expected to get the most in the way of votes for the money. That is exactly what he did not do, to the cause of mournful lament by numerous precinct captains.

The spending of relief funds has been the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, and of Harry Hopkins. Mr. Ickes was until recently an enrolled Republican. He is now, and has always been, considered anathema to the regulars of both parties. The only criticism one hears of Ickes in Washington is that he is too honest—that he will make no exception for politicians regardless of the importance of their support.

The central figure in the disbursement of relief is Harry Hopkins. Although I know him well I do not know his party affiliations or for that matter whether he has ever regularly enrolled. He is a trained social worker. His administration has been characterized by zeal and devotion so unselfish and energetic that he has been able to overcome almost insurmountable obstacles. When one considers the nature of the emergency, the necessity for speed, the lack of a trained

personnel, the millions in need, the necessity to provide relief of a kind that would not destroy self-respect, the record of result reaches a very high standard.

A return to local administration of relief is an ideal goal and of course will eventually come about. But it must be remembered that many localities never were organized to deal with relief when the government took over the task. The pressure of need was threatening the very structure of government itself, and the financial condition of most municipalities could not stand further strain. Indeed, in Kansas a law was



passed in 1933 prohibiting municipalities and other corporate agencies of the state from borrowing. As a result the federal government contributed approximately 377,000,000 dollars for relief purposes in various forms. The federal government was required to rescue them, and would have been criticized if it had not retained some firm control over the expenditures for relief. It is impractical to suppose that that control can be relinquished while federal funds are being spent. The suggestion that the whole of relief be now turned over to private charity is impossible. The New York Community Chest never raised an infinitesimal part of the City's present need for funds.

It would be folly not to recognize the mistakes and the inefficiency of federal relief disclosed in some instances. It is likewise a form of folly not to recognize that a certain amount of error and inefficiency, and even dishonesty, if you will, was inevitable. But the service is in the hands of a relief expert who is correcting these abuses.

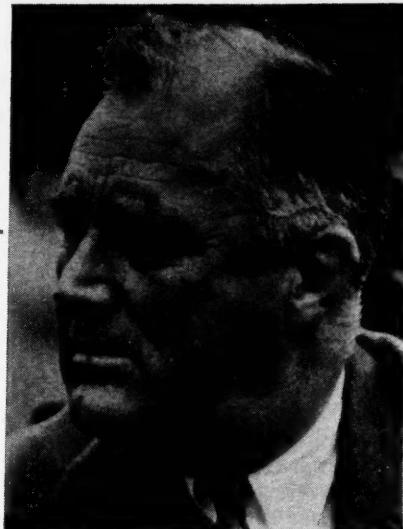
It is an obvious lack of logic for one to condemn the President be-

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JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

Shortly after his appointment as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the New York Times referred to Joseph P. Kennedy as "the most constructive and stabilizing influence for recovery in the administration." To the difficult and complex task of curbing speculation and prohibiting pools, he brought the knowledge of a conspicuously successful speculator and syndicate manager, the courage and tact of his Irish-American forbears. Harvard had found him a crack baseball player; he gave up a chance to enter professional play, and chose banking. At twenty-five, retiring from control of a profitable Boston transportation company, he became the country's youngest bank president. At forty-six, wealthy, the father of nine, he believes in F. D. R.



cause a few workers are seen loafing. The more appropriate criterion is the nature of the emergency, the unheard of scope of the recovery measures that had to be adopted, and the amazing success of the program as a whole.

NO DEBT BURDEN FOR OUR CHILDREN

The critics cry that Roosevelt has piled up a debt burden for our children and our children's children. Even if our debt were all for the next generation to pay, it would be a fair price for the preservation of our society against the chaos that threatened at the beginning of 1933. It has brought a measure of recovery that in those dark days seemed beyond our reach. During the World War we spent even more lavishly against an enemy thousands of miles away. Yet no one grumbled because of the burden of borrowing.

But the charge that the debt imposes a crushing burden on future generations is unsound. As a society we owe less than in 1929, and, what is of tremendous importance, the carrying charges have been greatly reduced. This we owe directly to the administration measures. The total amount of debt of all kinds in this country, including the government debt, is not only less than when Franklin Roosevelt took office, but less even than before the crash. The interest rate is less than at any time in our history. The relation between the increase in government debt and the decline in our other debt can be demonstrated. What else but federal relief, and the recovery that has been accomplished, accounts for the decline in the indebtedness of states and municipalities? Many municipalities and a number of states could not have balanced their budgets with-

out release from the burden of relief expenditure. We know that during the three-year period 1933-5 the federal government paid out about \$3,000,000,000 for relief. About \$1,800,000,000 of this was in the form of loans and grants to states by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

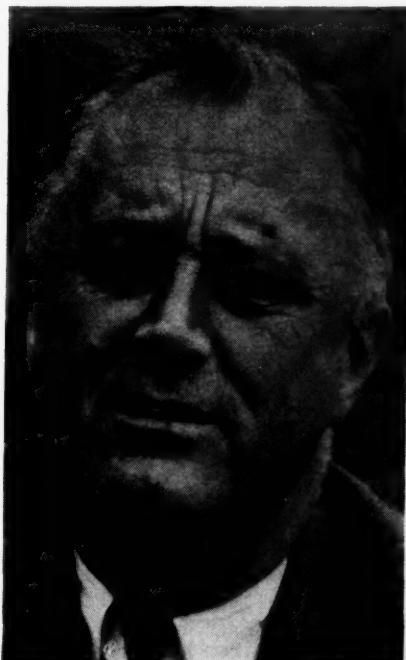
With reference to finances, municipalities are like private enterprises. The recovery under the New Deal has therefore helped municipalities, just as it has railroads, in more ways than by direct loans. Recovery has brought improvement in rentals, re-occupancy of vacancies, and better collections, so that property owners have found it possible to pay back taxes. This and the reduction in money rates, the opening of the capital market, and the improvement in confidence in the future, have lifted municipal securities from the level of bankruptcy to one of unprecedentedly high investment status.

The decline of our other debts under the stimulus of administration measures has more than offset the increase in the debt that the federal government shouldered in underwriting the obligations that were weighing down private business and the local governments.

The national income of our people when Roosevelt took office was not above three billion dollars a month. It is now estimated to be approximately \$5,000,000,000 a month. The increase comes to \$190 a year apiece for all the population. The increase in the federal debt has been only \$120 apiece, with an annual interest cost of less than \$3. No individual would be criticised if, as a result of borrowing \$120 at the cost of \$3 a year, he succeeded in raising his income \$190 a year. This calculation uses a figure of \$15,000,000,000 for the increase in the federal debt, which is twice the real increase, for half of it is covered by recoverable loans of the RFC and other agencies, and by the assets of the stabilization fund.

Our debt is low as compared with that of England or France. In each of these countries the national debt is twice as great as the annual national income. Our debt is only 50 percent of the national income. England has had a substantial recovery under her much heavier debt burden. Professor Kemmerer in a recent sharp criticism of our present rate of public expenditure was frank enough to admit that the burden of debt will not be passed on to future generations.

It is my studied conclusion that the existing tax rates will be adequate to balance the national budget within a few years. We shall be able, I think, to begin a program of debt retirement on the basis of present rates and existing national income which is bound to go higher. Mr. George May of the firm of Price, Waterhouse & Co., outstanding public accountants, expressed in substance this conclusion when he appeared before the Senate Committee on Finance last spring. We should not forget that the huge indebtedness of the World War was in swift process of liquidation in the space of a few years despite the



tax reduction policies of Mr. Mellon.

There are those who accept the major objectives of the New Deal but complain that its administration has been bad. The government, stepping into new fields, had to design its own measures to bring about the present improvement. It has naturally encountered administrative difficulties. That is not peculiar to government. Industry saw the trend in 1929 if it was far seeing. It took industry almost five years to absorb the shock and head in the right direction. It is

vital that we have continuity of administration until these new measures have a chance to get established and to have their full effect. The New Deal program presupposes a continuity of protection on the part of the Government. There is great need for consolidating and finishing the job. Our problem is choosing between the New Deal road and the paths of the Old Deal.

Shall we go on to a broader democracy and a greater security or turn back to an unregulated indi-



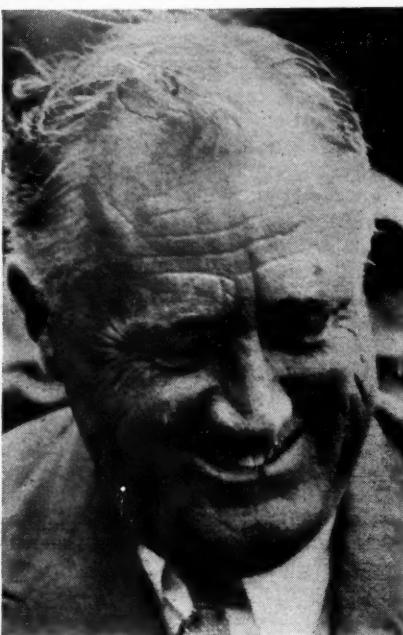
vidualism which may leave us nothing to regulate?

Leading the attack on the New Deal is that group that profited most under the Old Deal. They have recovered from their panic of three years ago. They have forgotten how nearly they came to losing everything. They take recovery for granted. They want to evade all the social consequences of the chaos they wrought, and avoid all responsibility for the future. They reason that if they can get rid of the New Deal they can get rid of regulation and of the taxes that pay for regulation in the public interest. They expect to return to the old wide-open game of exploitation. But the time has gone by when a few powerful men can sit tight and write their own ticket.

The best answer to the fantastic fears that such men are spreading is to take the portfolios of the big banks, nearly all of them anti-administration. They have bought increased amounts of long-term government securities every quarter. With their bitter feeling against the New Deal they wouldn't load up with its paper if they really believed one-tenth of the accusations they make. It shows that they don't mean what

they say or they don't know what they mean. They just don't like Roosevelt and they are making a religion of it.

All this bugaboo about a dangerous inflation must remind the people of the scare talk these same people were responsible for when the bill for the regulation of public utilities was before Congress. They cried out that the public utilities act would be the death of American business. What happened? It was passed, and also the Wagner Labor Relations Act, without making a ripple in the progress of recovery. The stock market has moved up steadily for the past 13 months, starting upward at the very time talk about the dangers of regulating business was most violent. This progress has continued through the period of the regulations. Some critics claim that the New Deal has tried too many reforms, has gone too fast. What would they leave out? These various acts af-



fected different groups, all of them entangled in the compound disaster that had overtaken our economy as a whole. Take the control of public utilities; something had to be done, even the utilities had a bill for their own regulation. The only question was how to do it. Take the farmers' problem; does anyone deny that it had to be met? Not the Republicans who promise the farmers a continuation of all the benefits of the present policy. Then, too, there had to be a tax law, to avoid inflation.

There is one agency with which I was personally connected, the Securities and Exchange Commission. I know that it has been helpful to business and I hesitate to hazard how many millions it has saved the

ordinary investor. Its creation was fought by those who are most bitter against the President. How long do you suppose a conservative administration would have taken to put through that one reform in order to make investment reasonably safe for the investor? But you can't get in two years time the full value of an act whose effects reach to all business. The danger is that if there is no continuity of administration until such a reform is well established, its full results will never be realized.

Social security? The British have got there before us and their experience is satisfactory. Our leading industrialists agree that such a law is needed. Security of human beings is the basis of business prosperity. In a period such as the Roosevelt Administration has weathered, all these just measures had to be adopted for the common welfare. Unfortunately it is inevitable that such a program increases the scope and the cost of government. I think that every recent President has promised fewer commissions and yet all have left more than they found. Government must and will keep pace with social and economic growth.

It will not be long before we are laughing at the fears that have faced us in our first—and too long delayed—steps in the planned economy that must be operated so as to benefit all classes of the nation. These recent changes are going to prove helpful even to those business men who fear them most.

The maintenance of the democratic ideal demands regulation. The President's record is one of respect for individual rights and regard for the need of social control to handle that form of individualism which, unrestrained, destroys democracy. Without impeding honest business, President Roosevelt has imposed reasonable checks on avarice and greed which were so largely responsible for our economic failure. Recovery we have had, and a goodly measure of it, at a cost not out of proportion to the beneficial results.

The Roosevelt Administration, like every other, has made mistakes. Some of its procedures must be reorganized because of the fact of recovery itself. Others must be adjusted to experience. But the very breadth of the Roosevelt program postpones final judgment on each phase of the President's plan. The essential thing for America is that there has been a plan, and leadership, and action that has carried America forward out of chaos. The New Deal is more than a crystallization of the economic needs of the country. It is also the spirit of modern America.

IS GOVERNMENT HOUSING DESIRABLE?

THE PAST FOUR YEARS HAVE WITNESSED the investment of hundreds of millions of federal funds in housing. Undertaken initially to stimulate business, create employment, and safeguard investment, the housing policies of various branches of government have created the presumption that housing is a federal problem. If they are to continue, the future demands the coordination into one consistent policy of all the programs of FHA, PWA, TVA, and diverse federal credit agencies—urban and rural.

But the question should first be asked: Does the federal government belong in the field of housing?

It is to a nation's interest to see that all citizens are decently housed in dwellings that are sanitary, safe, conducive to wholesome living. Civilization and national security demand this. So also does economy, for slums levy a heavy toll upon the public treasury through disease, criminality, and industrial inefficiency. Thus housing is a problem to be squarely faced by federal as well as state and municipal governments.

Housing, like food, is a fundamental need. It is the concern of government to promote the general welfare. It is thus a public responsibility to make sure that all citizens

are adequately fed and housed. But one is not forced at once to the conclusion that it is the nation's business to build and operate housing and food stations for its citizens.

A statement as obvious as this would be unnecessary were it not true that a large number of our citizens today naively argue that "housing conditions are bad, therefore the federal government should build." Clearly it is conceivable that these needs might be handled more effectively by some other means than direct federal action—either by state or local government directly, or by some variant of our traditional method of governmental regulation of private enterprise. Direct governmental building and its alternative should therefore be examined.

America on two occasions has had some experience with federal housing. Each experience grew out of emergency conditions: the World War and then the economic depression. War conditions necessitated housing for industrial workers called to service in war industries, in shipbuilding, and in navy yards. Later economic depression necessitated labor for the unemployed and stimulus to the private building industry.

Each emergency was met by housing projects dominated, and in large

part executed, by the federal government. Each taught many useful lessons in house and community planning. Each made many mistakes, due in part to the necessity for speed. Each demonstrated the perils of direct governmental building as a policy for the recovery period.

SOME INSUPERABLE HANDICAPS

Experience teaches that public housing, as compared with private enterprise, suffers from many handicaps, some of which are insuperable. Its overhead is inevitably much more costly. The time of large staffs is consumed in making detailed reports to higher officials, budgets, and publicity statements; in hearings, speeches, and field representation; in public records and itemized documents which no private business would need to prepare. This is a heavy, continuous burden necessitated by law and tradition and by responsibility to the populace. Little of it can be escaped in a program of economy.

Individual executive salaries in government are low. Collectively they are high. Since the lower ranges of office labor are paid much higher wages than private industry pays, the total salary overhead of any public housing project is heavy.

It is difficult for the Government to get expert service in each of its branches. Experts command higher salaries in the competitive world outside. Government service means insecurity for executives and experts because of administration changes and frequent reorganization. The Government may have to content itself, in normal as distinguished from emergency periods, with second-rate personalities in positions which should be held by experts. Greater security of clerical staffs may also mean relative inefficiency, for many employees "go to seed on the job".

Civil service sorely complicates government operation in any business for which the Government is unfitted. It is indispensable in rou-

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BY JAMES FORD

James Ford, of the faculty of Harvard University, served during the war with the United States Housing Corporation which spent \$30,000,000 for housing accommodating 30,000 persons. He was Associate Director of President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, out of which grew the Home Loan Bank Board and the provisions for loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for slum clearance and low-cost housing through limited-dividend corporations. For the last three years Professor Ford has carried on a special study for the Phelps-Stokes Fund the results of which, "Slums and Housing," are now published by the Harvard University Press.



In the middle of top row are two Virgin Islands scenes — one a model house, the other a slum. Above is a PWA apartment in Philadelphia. Right is a federal community home-stead, in West Virginia

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tine departments to prevent favoritism. Once the Government enters business, civil service reduces the range of choice in hiring and makes firing exceedingly difficult. To fire an incompetent worker who has powerful political backing may endanger the position of the executive or lead to curtailment of his budget.

Efficiency in business operations necessitates quick decisions, rapid execution, ample budgets, and a competent staff. It requires highly trained, experienced executives. No one of these requirements can be guaranteed in government operations. Except in emergency periods the most competent of private executives feel they cannot exchange their large profits for the low regular salaries which government pays. They may fear, also, the opprobrium which conspicuous government executives inevitably incur, developed by the opposition press.

FREEDOM FROM RED TAPE

Private enterprise can keep alert and adapt itself quickly to new situations by picking the ablest available sub-executives and staff, and by holding over them the threat of dismissal if their competence or energy declines. Government is more likely to make its choices only from second-rate ability, and to be unable to dismiss when an employee demonstrates incompetence, or to incur serious delays in dismissal. Quick decisions and rapid execution are impossible for the Government, because of the necessity of waiting for the approval of still higher officials in the governmental hierarchy.

The budget may be ample at the start, but to keep it sufficient for continuing operations the executive may be forced to spend an undue percentage of his time in reaching and winning the approval of mem-

bers of congressional committees concerned with the budget and other key persons of influence within the cabinet or Congress.

In letting contracts and sub-contracts, private enterprise has a free hand in determining upon the lowest competent bidder and in practicing every proper economy throughout the period of construction. There is always danger in government operations that there will not be so free a hand in bargaining, or that in one administration or another executives will feel it necessary to arrange the bids so that contracts will go to political favorites.

The most dangerous spot of all is management. Although management might be of the highest quality under some political administrations, it is quite certain in others to become a field for the exercise of favoritism. It might readily become a device for vote control. Even if this contingency were avoided, there is danger that a well conceived rental policy would from time to time be changed, to the disadvantage of the public treasury, as a result of local political pressure for rent reduction or other special favors. When selfish interests flood Congress and administrative departments with letters and telegrams, or when prominent politicians lobby for such favors, some governmental executives would not have backbone enough to resist, and a less advantageous managerial policy might become firmly entrenched.

Much is said about the danger of

government competition with private enterprise. It has been claimed that the PWA slum-rebuilding program is competing with private builders. This charge is not correct when applied to housing the families of unskilled workers. It takes on force, however, when government-subsidized construction embraces skilled laborers and others of higher salary. In the northeastern quarter of America private enterprise rarely builds new houses for the unskilled worker and his family, outside of a few industrial villages and small towns.

THE THREAT OF COMPETITION

The argument that government housing competes with private enterprise has one serious aspect. Realtors, contractors, and builders are definitely holding back at this time because of utter uncertainty with regard to the Government's future housing program. They dare not build if there is any possibility that the Government, in the next of its many changes of policy, will compete with them in their own community. Their alarm is justified. Our President has been reported as saying that housing is "a mess". It is everywhere rumored that radical administrative reorganization is contemplated. There is prospective legislation, the results and duration of which must be witnessed before private enterprise may feel free to go ahead. Business can adjust to any clear-cut decision, even if that de-

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From top to bottom, right, are a government-aided housing project in suburban New York City; a similar one in the heart of the metropolis; homes for workers at Passamaquoddy, Maine; and a Tugwell-town, at Berwyn Heights, Maryland



cision involves direct government housing, but wise investors hold off in the face of uncertainty. It is still not too late for private enterprise to get housing back wholly in its own hands. It has merely to "beat the Government to it" and demonstrate that it can and will house unskilled labor in sound, well-planned, economical houses, at rents within the wage-earner's purse. It would require a nation-wide program to do this. But a general congress of real estate, building, and management interest which would agree to provide all necessary housing for this group, with planning and construction standards no lower than those established by the federal government in the past two years, would make federal control unnecessary.

American business genius has made available for every home articles that were once luxuries. Why should it not accept this challenge in the field of housing?

Meanwhile the provision of decent housing for all citizens is a public responsibility. Unless or until private enterprise demonstrates that it can competently assume the task, governmental concern is essential.

WHERE GOVERNMENT CAN HELP

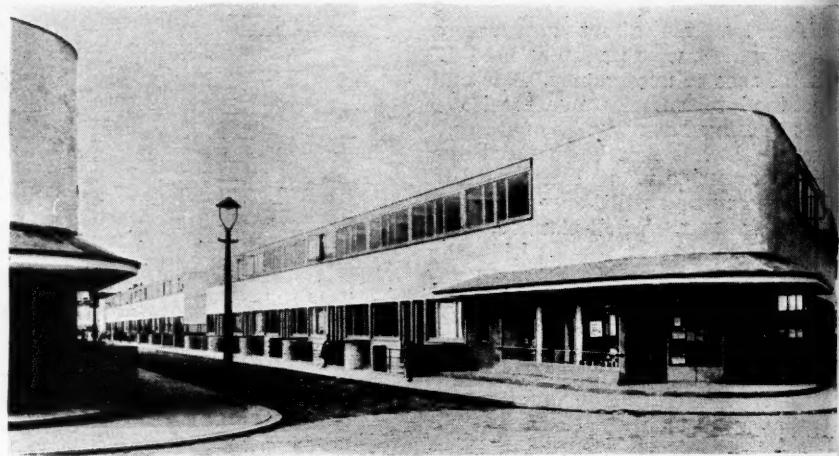
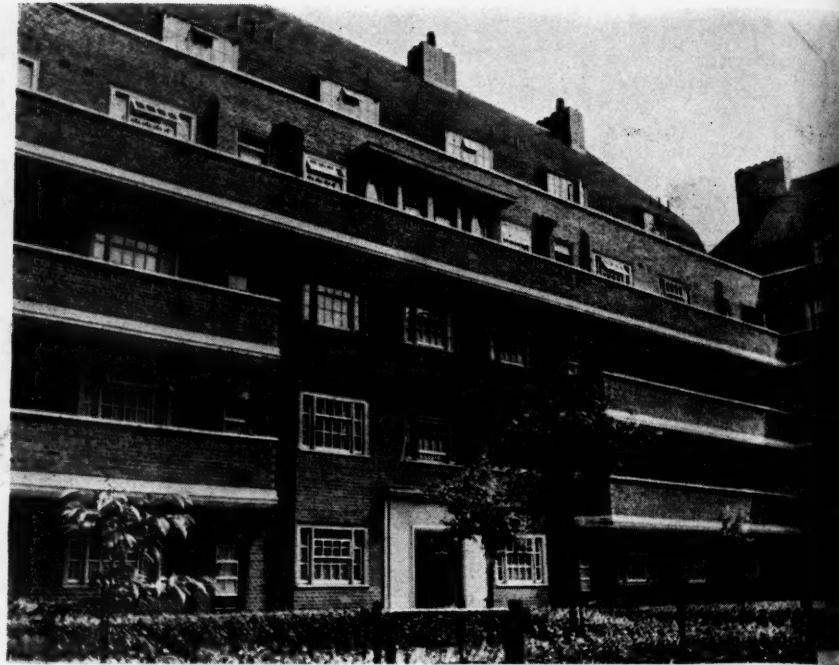
There are several fields for federal housing operation which can in large part avoid the dangers previously mentioned. First is research and experimentation, preferably lodged in the Bureau of Standards at Washington, which has justly acquired an international reputation for the scientific quality of its work. Its testing of building materials and equipment should continue.

Beyond this the Bureau should be empowered to construct a number of

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM INTERNATIONAL; KEYSTONE; U. S. ENGINEERING CORP.; AND WIDE WORLD



London slums, above, gave impetus to government-inspired housing projects such as that at Kensington in South London (upper right). Below that is a new housing development in Rotterdam



PHOTOGRAPHS

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM EUROPEAN PICTURES INC.; AND WIDE WORLD

houses each year, each of different materials. Such houses might be rented or sold and subjected to the wear and tear of family living. The Bureau would reserve the right to enter and inspect the house at established intervals, to make its own notations upon weathering the durability of each material and of each type of equipment. It would maintain a continuous record of comparative rates of depreciation and obsolescence. Its findings should be brought to public attention through special publications and the press. The quality of housing so vitally effects human life that such relatively inexpensive continuing research, from an unbiased scientific institution, would be of immense value to home-builders.

The second federal function is to serve as clearing-house for accurate information. Under previous administrations this function was lodged with the Division of Building and Housing in the Department of Commerce. During the Roosevelt administration that division was destroyed and its many functions were widely distributed among government departments in such a manner

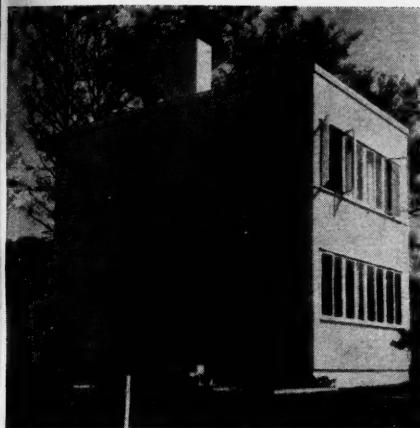
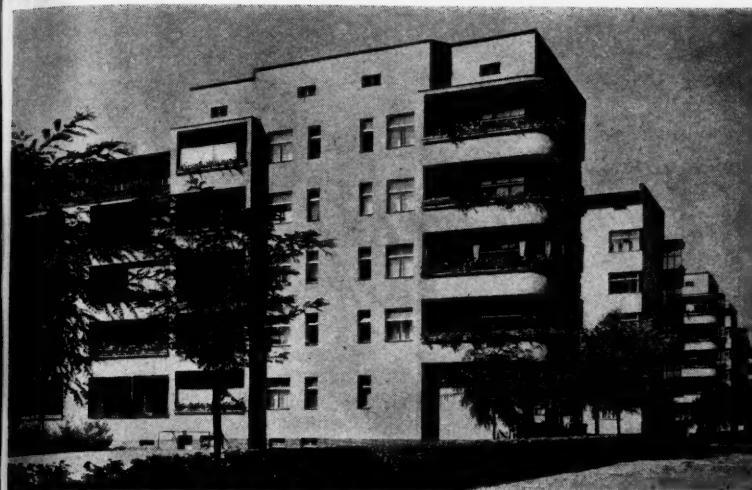
as to make it difficult for the average citizen to know whom to address for specific information. A centralized information service should be re-established, to advise individuals, business concerns, organizations, and municipal and state departments of health, housing, public safety, public welfare, city planning, and zoning, concerning their specific problems. It should issue needed publications, summarize what is new and important in current literature, establish model codes, and pool experience in housing and related field. Thus individuals, organizations, or departments could proceed with knowledge of the experience of others in meeting like problems.

There are circumstances, also, in which it is wise for the Government to house certain of its employees. Each of the permanent military and naval stations should house decently and in planned communities some, if not all, of the individuals and families assigned there. Park super-

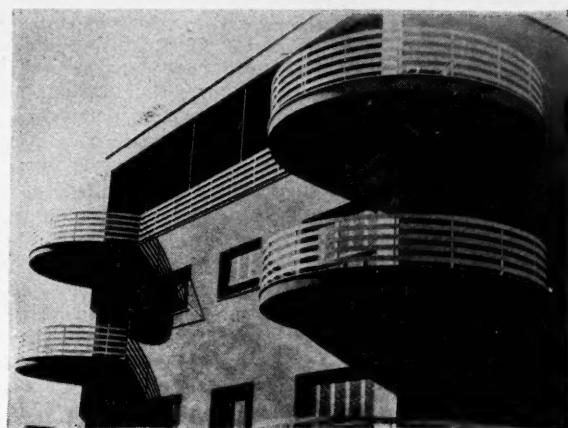
intendents, government foresters, keepers of lighthouses, lifesaving crews, workers on government engineering projects, must often be housed; and here also reasonable standards should be maintained. Within the District of Columbia one can readily justify the work of the Alley Dwelling Authority; and circumstances are conceivable which would justify federal action in the housing of certain groups among its government office workers. It is reasonable to expect the Government to maintain high standards of design, planning, and equipment in any branch of housing that it may legitimately enter.

FINANCIAL AID

Beyond this, contemporary conditions require the continuance of federal activity in the field of home finance. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has permanent utility in the backing which it makes available to our major private agencies



What four European countries are doing to furnish low-cost housing is indicated by pictures assembled on this page. Above are, first, a "residential town" in Berlin suburbs and, second, a Soviet apartment house at Novibirsk. To the left of these lines is a one-family dwelling in Stockholm and to the right is a home for government employees near Rome



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GERMAN RAILROAD INFORMATION OFFICE; SOVIET PHOTO AGENCY; AMERICAN SWEDISH NEWS EXCHANGE; AND PICTURES, INC.

for financing small homes—the building and loan associations.

On the other hand such variants as the TVA, or Rural Resettlement, must be judged not merely in terms of the housing they contemplate but also with reference to fundamental economics. Is their conception of production and exchange, of population redistribution, and of federal function and federal-state relationships sound? If it is sound, and if it can be demonstrated that adequate housing for their clients can be provided only from the public treasury, then and then only can the branches of federal housing activity be justified.

Federal assistance to municipal housing or city planning authorities is essential to get rid of slums, unless state governments should take over this function. This would take the form of aid in the acquisition of land and buildings and in the demolition of unsanitary quarters. Loans from one of these two sources are equally requisite, to put the operations on a scale sufficiently large to make an impression upon the slums. The plan and execution should be local, but high standards of construction and planning must be a condition of each governmental loan.

Until private enterprise accepts the challenge and builds adequate

housing for low-rental groups, government loans from either the state or the nation—not only for slum destruction but also for low-cost housing—remain necessary. To avoid the evils of public operation, such loans should be made to corporations with limited dividends, not to municipalities. Yet the project must have approval of expert municipal branches concerned with housing, city planning, and engineering.

Interest rates should be low and amortization periods long. The loans should be limited to projects of type demonstrably needed, and rented only to wage-earners of lower income groups. Houses should be planned, built, and equipped, under the terms of the loans, that they will prove rentable throughout the amortization period. Equities for such houses should enjoy the federal guarantee or insurance.

SUBSIDIES AND TAXES

Without these aids unskilled wage-earners cannot attain other than unsanitary and ramshackle housing for a generation or more, and civic interest will suffer correspondingly.

Government grants or subsidies for slum clearance and for the housing of unskilled wage-earners are hard on the average taxpayer. Yet it is the permanent prerogative of

the fortunate to aid their less fortunate brothers. Subsidies must be gauged with reference to the need for them and the skill with which they are administered. The incidence of the tax burden would be fairer if federal grants were contingent upon prorated state and municipal grants. Such contingent subsidies have the further merit of developing local interest and local responsibility—essential to a long-continued housing program.

These fields of government enterprise do not entail the dangers of direct governmental housing construction and management. Their operation can be rendered safe, fool-proof, and routine in character. The federal treasury need not suffer if all loans and grants are so scrutinized and supervised, and so wise in their standards, as to make certain of the need for the housing in question and of its soundness and quality.

The benefits of better housing can reach more people, and reach them more quickly, by making the federal government the guide and patron of good housing rather than owner and manager. Once this decision has been reached private enterprise can go ahead, certain of escape from competition in fields where it can operate with profit, and will enjoy the benefits of federal standards as guide.

Sidestepping the

FOR A HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN years the character of the government of the United States has been determined by the Constitution. Controversies have raged about its meaning and its application to specific problems regarding the powers of the state and federal governments. The judiciary's right to interpret the Constitution and determine whether laws of Congress violate its provisions has been frequently attacked, chiefly by those who disagree with the decisions of the judges. But on the whole the form of government intended by the founders has remained unimpaired. The prestige of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court has steadily increased, until in 1933 it stood as high as ever in the history of the United States.

Certain features of the Constitution have been fundamental from its inception. It establishes a federal form of government, leaving the states independent of the national government. It confers on the national government only the powers granted by the Constitution, so that the national government is a government of limited powers. It reserves to the states the powers not conferred on the national government. It divides the powers of the national government among the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches, and provides that each shall be independent of the others. In its bill of rights and its restrictions on state governments it protects the rights of individuals and minorities against the arbitrary action of government, and it includes among those rights property as well as person.

The Constitution has often been criticised as creating a government of too many checks and balances, but before the days of the New Deal it was never doubted that it did create a government of checks and bal-

ances. The revival of bitter criticism both of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court is due to one thing only. The basis of New Deal policy is a planned economy. It desires to substitute for the competitive business system under which this country has been built up a system in which government directs all business and financial activity. The sincere New Dealers are dissatisfied, perhaps justly so, with the distribution of property and of economic power which has been brought about under the American constitutional and business structure.

They are not satisfied to cure abuses one at a time, but desire to have the state regulate all business activity at the source, and direct the distribution of material rewards. The N.R.A. and the A.A.A. contemplated a fixing by the Government (or by some committee subject to government control) of all prices and all wages. Experience has shown that once the Government undertakes to regulate wages and prices, it must go on, if its regulation is to be effective, to control all the minor practices in the business which have an effect on price, which means every detail of the business. This can only be done by complete control of all production.

Under the American system, material rewards—in an increased standard of living and a better provision for one's family after death—have tended to result, in the natural course of events, from the qualities of industry, intelligence, and ability. These qualities have certainly meant success in America. The New Deal, dissatisfied with the actual results of the American system of free enterprise, proposes in effect that the Government shall determine what wages men shall receive, what prices men shall receive for the goods they produce, and finally what profits

shall be made by private operators.

Without discussing the merits of this view, it is certainly fair to say that such a system of government regulation was completely foreign to the ideas of the founders of the Constitution, who lived in an age when laissez-faire doctrines were in full control. While the Constitution may not have been designed to prevent such a control, certainly no effort was made to provide for it. The national government was given no power to control production. If that power was vested anywhere it was

BY ROBERT A. TAFT

The President, if reelected, may be able to circumvent the Supreme Court's nullification of New Deal changes in the American form of government, and do so without the danger of recommending an amendment to the Constitution



INTERNATIONAL

among the residuary powers of the states. The courts have always considered control of production as outside the field of the national government, and I think it fair to say that ninety-nine out of a hundred constitutional lawyers would have taken the same view five years ago. Once a planned economy was proposed, however, the supporters of the New Deal began to develop new constitutional theories to support their legislation.

The most sweeping attempt to justify the New Deal measures as

Constitution



HARRIS & EWING

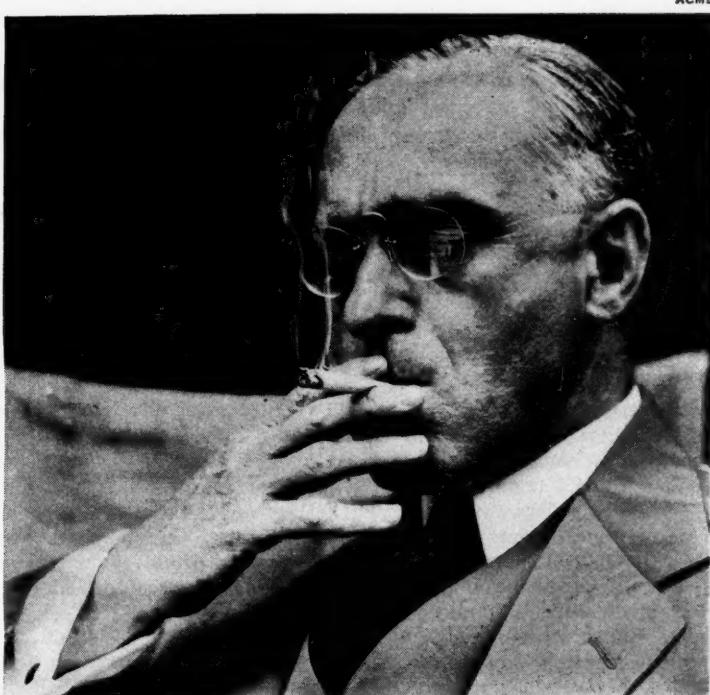
Prof. E. S. Corwin (opposite page), Donald Richberg (above), and Prof. Felix Frankfurter (right) have been leaders in the fight to fit the Constitution to the New Deal

constitutional was made by Prof. E. S. Corwin in "The Twilight of the Supreme Court", published in 1934. It is significant that to accomplish his purpose he has to destroy the Constitution as it has always been understood. He frankly states that in order to carry out the New Deal program the executive must have much greater power, and the courts must permit the executive, under authority from the legislature, to do practically anything necessary to accomplish the end desired. His view seems to be that the most fundamental principles of the Constitution can be set aside by judges who wish to set them aside, and that, since all virtue is vested in the New Deal, any

reasonable judge should wish to set these principles aside.

He would define as interstate commerce every activity which remotely affects interstate commerce, although such an interpretation wipes out the entire basis of the federal system of government and the reserved power of the states, which Madison and Hamilton and every other constitutional lawyer have accepted as axiomatic. He urges the judges to give such a broad construction to the commerce clause as to destroy the reserved power of the states in spite of past decisions, like *Hammer v. Degenhart*, in which they have refused to do so. He explains that they might as well adopt this construction because if the federal system cannot be destroyed through the commerce clause, it can be destroyed (he assumes) through the free use of the spending power. In 1934 the court had not limited the use of the spending power.

He argues that modern conditions require and therefore justify an indefinite delegation of power by the legislature to the executive, although it scrambles the powers intended to



ACME

be separate, and makes possible the very kind of dictatorship most obnoxious to the drafters of the Constitution. Suggesting that the judges usurped the power to declare laws unconstitutional, he urges them in effect to abdicate that power, and thereby make possible the all-powerful executive and the totalitarian state thought necessary for our present welfare.

As for the Bill of Rights, certainly as far as its protection of property is concerned, he feels that the necessity for a strong state should subordinate the individual to any governmental experiment which any man could conceivably think necessary or proper.

The effect of his argument is that since the principles of the Constitution are stated in general terms, it really contains no principles whatever. He reduces constitutional law to a question of the judges' digestion and the environment of their youth.

Of course it is true that the fourteenth amendment, which provides that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, is so general that it almost leaves the law-making power to the courts. The courts can hardly be blamed for doing their best to apply this extremely general principle, even if a judge's economic views may unconsciously determine his decision.

Even in the due process clause, however, there is a fixed principle that wholly arbitrary executive or legislative action shall be void. No doubt the courts have sometimes gone too far in deciding legislation to be arbitrary, but their mistakes can always be corrected by amendment, and we must not forget that from forty-eight more or less irresponsible legislatures has come a great deal of oppressive and wholly arbitrary legislation.

THE ISSUE MERELY SLEEPS

When the criticism of the generality of this clause and the court's freedom of decision under it is extended to the commerce clause, to the division of powers between the federal government and the states, and to the division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, it becomes ridiculous. Interstate commerce is a definite conception, and so is the division of powers. There may be many

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Experience tables of American insurance companies indicate that three of the nine justices will die in the next four years

cases on the line, but the great bulk of the cases fall clearly either on one side or the other. The views of the judges on these subjects are not economic views or political views, but are definite principles derived from a lifelong study of the principles of American government as set forth in the Constitution.

Professor Corwin's views are largely echoed by Professor Powell of the Harvard Law School, who also seems to feel that no real principles of constitutional law exist. Professor Frankfurter's position is not so clear, but he is said to have advised the President that if he could delay the decision on important problems long enough, and the New Deal policies met the approval of the people, the judges might well take a favorable view of their constitutionality. The soundness of this theory was not tested because policies declared unconstitutional had not achieved any tremendous popularity, but the advice, if given, did not prove to be good advice. Mr. Donald Richberg, in January of this year, warned the Bar Association of the City of New York, and incidentally the Court, that if they did not construe the Constitution to suit the New Deal they might bring down worse upon their heads in the form of an amendment.

All of the sophistry of the constitutional innovators was swept away by the decisions of the Supreme Court in the N.R.A., A.A.A., and Guffey coal decisions. These were not in any sense political decisions opposed to the New Deal. The N.R.A.

decision was unanimous. They rather reaffirmed the fundamental principles of American government. They held that the national government was one of limited powers, which did not include control of manufacturing and agriculture. They held that the commerce clause and the spending power could not be used as subterfuges to give the national government power it was not intended to have. In the N.R.A. case they held that the legislature could not delegate to the executive bodies power to make laws, and that the legislative power must be kept distinct from the executive. A more complete repudiation of Professor Corwin's New Deal views could hardly be imagined, and it is not surprising that he and his friends have since become more violent against any power in the court to determine constitutional principles.

In some ways these Supreme Court decisions have lulled the people into a false sense of security. Professor Corwin's opinions may be wrong, but he is quite correct in his statement that the Constitution is what the judges say it is; and he is quite correct in saying that if a majority of the court agree with his views their decisions may become the law of the land, however wrong they may be.

PROSPECTIVE CHANGES IN THE COURT

The New Dealers have not given up their hope that the court will change its views. They know that if the President is reelected he will probably have the appointment of more than a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court. He can appoint to that court men who will agree with Professor Corwin that there are no fixed principles of constitutional law, and that it is their duty to construe the Constitution as the executive wants it construed. Up to the present time we may have had judges who were prejudiced, and held incorrect views; but all of them have felt that there were principles of constitutional law, and that it was their duty to declare them. Furthermore, Congress can always increase the number of judges, and may be able, by changing the jurisdiction of the federal courts, to hamper their ability to pass on legislative acts. These things are simple in procedure.

The New Deal has certainly not abandoned the principles of planned economy. It is still the basis of its philosophy. The President bitterly resents the court's repudiation of the Corwin views, as shown by his outburst against the court on May 31, 1935, when he said that the N.R.A. decision had relegated the

country to the horse-and-buggy stage, and prevented any attempt to solve national economic problems. The President and his supporters are prepared to advocate a direct amendment changing the whole basis of the Constitution, if that should be necessary, but the reaction to the President's statement showed them that direct amendment would not be a popular issue. They are determined, if possible, to effect a constitutional change by the President's power to appoint a majority of the Supreme Court, if he is re-elected.

The Attorney General and the Solicitor General are urging strongly that the court should not be bound by its recent decisions, because in a few instances in the past it has reversed its decisions on other subjects. General Hugh S. Johnson stated, on February 18 of this year, apparently from his experience in the Administration, that among so-called progressives the determination is fixed and even passionate to destroy or seriously impair any power in the court to invalidate an act of Congress. He says that he often heard counsels expressed to keep pushing up radical laws for decision in the belief that if enough were stricken down, public resentment would support serious revisions of the power of the court.

THE COURT IN THIS CAMPAIGN

On June 11 of this year, President Roosevelt, in Little Rock, stated that under the broad principles of the Constitution we could march forward, "believing, as the overwhelming majority of Americans believe,

that it is intended to meet and fit the amazing physical, economic, and social requirements that confront us in this generation." And he named, among these questions, prices, wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, and social security. He has not accepted the court's view, and evidently intends to change it without amendment if he can.

Senator Barkley, in his keynote speech at the Democratic convention, refers to the decisions of the court as the application of technicalities and "antiquated economic predilections". "What we need in the United States", he says, "is a new definition and a new interpretation of interstate commerce. Every article that is grown or mined or fabricated in one state, destined for the markets of another, by whatever means of distribution, is a subject of interstate commerce." He makes no mention of a constitutional amendment, and we may presume, therefore, that he intends to destroy state power without it.

The Democratic platform promises continued legislation along the lines of the legislation declared unconstitutional, and only declares for an amendment if, after further opportunity, the court remains obdurate. There can be little doubt that the deliberate New Deal policy is to reverse the decisions of the Supreme Court by the appointment of new judges, whose views shall approximate those of Professor Corwin. In the meantime the New Deal orators are thundering against the court, in the evident hope that they will create a public opinion which will support the new appointments of the

President and assist a reversal of the court's views.

This policy seems to present greater dangers to the Constitution than any which it has ever faced. I have pointed out that the New Deal cannot be upheld by the Supreme Court without the practical destruction of the main principles on which the federal government of the United States has been founded. It cannot be upheld without the abdication by the court of the powers which it has exercised since the establishment of the Constitution. It cannot be accomplished without giving to the executive, through a subservient legislature, powers of dictatorship wholly foreign to the genius of America.

AMEND, BUT DON'T DESTROY!

If the Constitution is to be changed, it should be changed by constitutional amendment. It is unreasonable to suppose that the wisest men in 1789 could provide for all the problems of 1936. It is foolish to say, as the President said, that the Constitution was intended "to meet and fit the amazing physical, economic, and social requirements that confront us in this generation". When abuses have arisen in the past, amendments have been adopted. I believe today that the Child Labor Amendment commands the general support of the people and should be adopted.

If a new division of powers is desirable, it can be worked out in the language of a constitutional amendment. The proposal can then be debated throughout the United States, and the people can determine exactly what they desire.

But the method proposed at present by the New Deal will not only amend the Constitution, but completely destroy it. If men are appointed to the court for the very purpose of abdicating its functions, of thinning out the fundamental principles of the Constitution, of destroying the federal form of government and the division of powers, then the whole basis of the American Constitution is at an end. There will remain nothing to prevent an all-powerful state determining the activities and existence of its citizens. There will remain nothing to prevent such a dictatorship as we see in many countries abroad. The dangers are apparent.

The plans of President Roosevelt and his New Deal supporters to swamp the court with judges who believe that constitutional principles are as weak as water will mean the twilight not only of the Supreme Court, but ultimately of American liberty and American democracy.



Robert A. Taft is a distinguished Cincinnati lawyer, the elder son of the late William Howard Taft. Alone of all Presidents, William Howard Taft served also as Chief Justice of the United States. Thus he was, in turn, head of both the executive and the judicial branches of our government of checks and balances. Foremost among political controversies—this year and last, and possibly in the four years to come—is the power of the Court to overrule the President

ROBERT MOSES AND THE

NEW YORK is going to have a World's Fair in 1939. It's reasonably assured that it will, with Robert Moses in the saddle. Moses is the modern patriarch to lead the sponsors of the project into the promised land of 1939. The year is important since the event is to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Washington's inauguration as the first president in New York in 1789. New York could hold its Fair any year it desired, 1940 or 1950, in commemoration of any other event, but as long as the original sponsors had committed the event to the year 1939, it would be held in that year, if Moses' name was to be identified with it.

Moses has a background of culture and scholarly attainments upon which his public service has been predicated, beginning with his graduation from Yale in 1909 at the age of twenty. Another B.A. he acquired at Oxford, where in addition he was the first American ever to captain the water polo and swimming teams. Returning to his native heath he obtained his Ph.D. at Columbia University and began his public career just before the outbreak of the war. Only recently he returned to New Haven, his birthplace, as well as the scene of his first academic endeavors, to receive from his alma mater the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in recognition of his achievements in public affairs.

To catalogue the activities of Mr. Moses as a public office-holder is no mean task in itself. Perhaps their compass is the index by which the citizens of New York look forward to the definite assurance that the fair will be held. His jobs include those of being head of the Long Island State Park Commission; sole Commissioner, Marine Park Authority; Park Commissioner, New York City; and member of the Tri-Boro Bridge Commission, of Bethpage State Park Commission, and of the New York State Park Commission.

Thus far in the field of public achievement the man hasn't come a cropper. He ran for Governor of New York State in 1934 and took a fancy beating, but seeking popular favor is not Mr. Moses' long suit. He will never win any popularity contests, but when the net results of his public labors are aggregated years hence the coming generations of New York-

ers will esteem Mr. Robert Moses as no other man in the public eye, during the post and ante depression days. Why? Because he has the faculty of getting things done, and doing them right.

He is a public servant in every sense of the word. He has a civic-consciousness that is motivated by trust. And woe betide the self-seeking professional politician who gets in his way: literally and advisedly. He brooks no obstacle; at any rate, not the type of obstacle that usually besets civic improvements, because equipped with a good sense of balance he approaches practical situations with a reasonable mien.

That is why he has not flopped on any of the projects to which he has lent his name and his efforts. If the proposition has its limitations, or is surrounded by well-nigh impossible conditions, he is able to recognize them, and his decision recognizes such limiting circumstances. Moreover, he surrounds himself with a capable staff: they do not always see eye to eye with their chief, but at the same time they recognize the motive can't be questioned, if the judgment is at fault. And they are well used to responsibility. None owe allegiance to any political party; hence they get things done on their own.

If you were to take Moses's record as an index, public trust with him amounts to an obsession. There is no currying favor with the man: deliver according to the specifications and there is no quibbling. Those engaged on the projects he undertakes know that there is no chiselling; that friendship does not rate; that none of the emollients or emoluments that usually influence such situations make any impression on this unique paradox in the chair of public office.

As a commentator on the things or events he knows about, even his adversaries make obeisance to the manner and matter of his discourse. He has taken issue with Roosevelt, Ickes, LaGuardia, Lehman, and the

courts of his own state, and in the main he has come off with substantially his original contentions. If there were any premises trimmed off his essential convictions, they were details that could be turned, nevertheless, to fit the immediate program in hand.

If Moses is dynamic in the performance of his duty, he is not dramatic. The usual pretensions to vainglory are hollow to him, but his showmanship speaks for itself: witness the parkway system on Long Island, the paradise that is Jones Beach, the people's country club at Bethpage, and the playgrounds of New York City. In the sense that he gets things done he is the irresistible force. Labelled "a passing creature" by a New York Supreme Court member who denied his recent endeavor to raze the pretentious Casino in New York's Central Park, his action was sustained on appeal to a higher court, despite the thousands of dollars of the public's funds which had been spent by a previous city administration on the famous gilded night spot. It no longer fitted the

ROBERT MOSES, THE MAN WHO GETS THINGS DONE



WORLD'S FAIR BY MARTIN CHARLES



AERIAL EXPLORATIONS, INC.

FLUSHING MEADOWS, WHERE NEW YORK'S 1939 WORLD'S FAIR WILL BE HELD, LIES CLOSE TO THE CITY ITSELF, EASILY ACCESSIBLE TO VISITORS

park program as conceived by Mr. Moses: hence it was destined to go.

When he took the job as Park Commissioner he inherited a clubhouse built on a filled-in swamp at the Dyker Beach golf course in Brooklyn. He condemned it as unsafe, after upwards of \$200,000 of relief monies had gone into the project. He doesn't temporize; he is like the algebra professor who addressed the struggling athlete at the blackboard: "Just rub it out, and do it all over again". Perfection, or near it, is a credo with him.

Because of the man's capacity, because of the foregoing incidents and others like them that represent decision, and because of his ability, the solid citizenry of New York know they are going to have a World's Fair in 1939. As typical of the Moses system is the first major contract let by the "New York World's Fair 1939, Inc.". The award for grading the Flushing meadows, site of the exposition, went not to the lowest bidder, but to the third lowest, because, as

Mr. Moses stated, this particular bidder was equipped financially, and had the experience, schedule, and machinery, to accomplish the work, though his bid exceeded the lowest by \$300,000. Within the week after this contract was awarded, the contractor selected was busily engaged with the fill operation.

From a practical standpoint Moses was right again. His personality dominated the Fair project. Nominaly he is a member of the Board of Directors of the Fair corporation. Actually he is in the saddle. W. Earle Andrews, brought up in the Moses school of applied endeavor, is the General Manager of the Fair: he is a prototype of the master, gaited to the tempo and temper of just such a vast undertaking. He never built a World's Fair before, but neither did Moses, nor many men for that matter. But this Fair will be built, and it will be built and opened on time, which item greatly concerned the city fathers until comparatively recent date.

Moses comes into the World's Fair

picture through his connection with the New York City Park Department of which he is the sole commissioner—and that by special enactment of the legislature of the State of New York, a condition placed by Mr. Moses upon his acceptance of the post before he would sit in the Mayor's cabinet. The creation of this exclusive position eliminated the five borough commissionerships theretofore existing in the municipal family as a heritage of the spoils system in the city's politics.

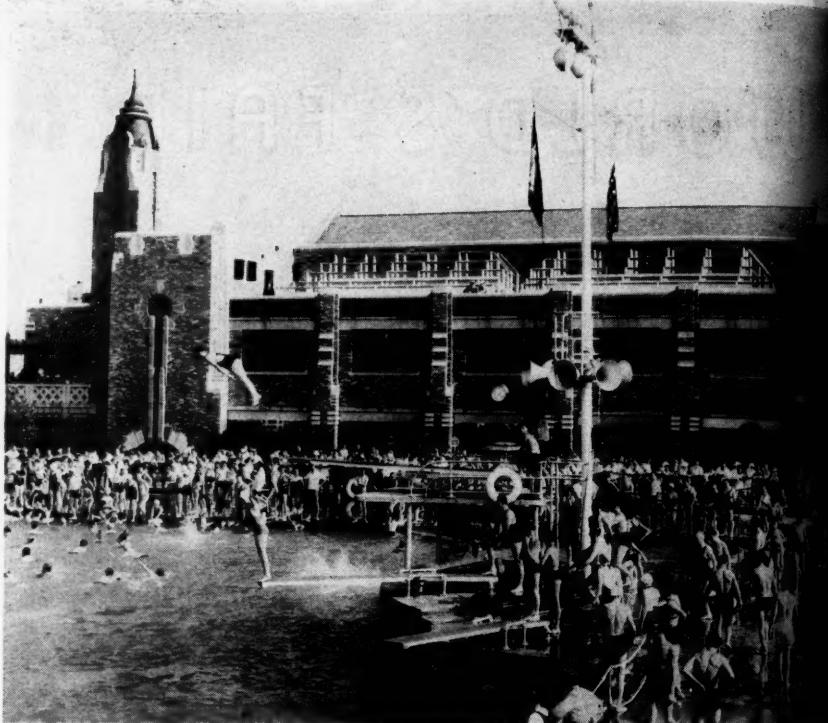
The Fair site selected was destined to be included in the park system of the Borough of Queens, and bordering the site presently there was under construction the Grand Central Parkway, linking Manhattan, the Bronx, and Westchester via the Triboro Bridge (of which Mr. Moses is also one of the three commissioners) across the East River to the Long Island Parkway system. Talk, deliberation, and speculation occupied the attention and time of the sponsors and city fathers until Moses stirred

them into action with the definite assurance that he would no longer delay construction of the parkway awaiting their decision anent the Fair grounds after April of 1935. With this ten day notice he was prepared to resume construction on his parkway project regardless of their deliberations.

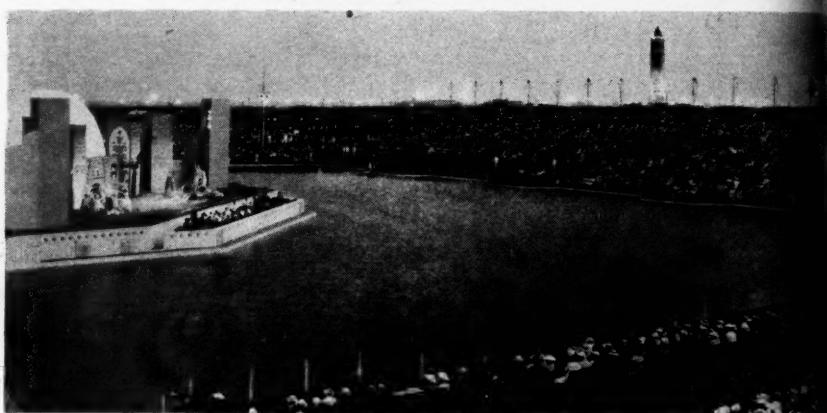
As a result, directly or indirectly, George McAneny, the active head of a New York Title Insurance Co., was supplanted by Grover Whalen as the president of the World's Fair Corporation. After one or two conferences between Whalen and Moses the program was geared to accomplishment. It has been moving steadily forward since. Actual field construction work is now under way; the project is no longer nebulous. It has become creative. The theme is roughly established; the Fair is to exemplify the city of the future. An architectural commission has been appointed, and is now engaged in design projects reflecting the theme adopted.

The site itself requires town-planning on a large scale. A city with all its appurtenances is to be raised on a vast area of swamp lying in Queens Borough, and separating the exclusive Forest Hills section and its somewhat less exclusive neighbor, Corona, from the environs of Flushing. Until the present Fusion administration came into power in New York City a large portion of the site was an ash dump. Acres and acres of marsh land had been receiving the ashes of the metropolis for years.

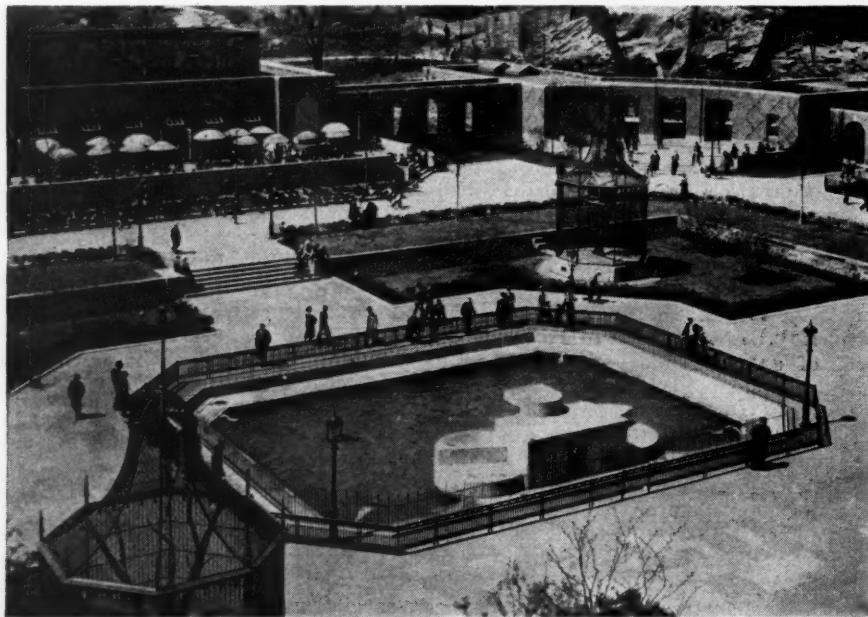
This property together with other sub-marginal and submerged areas are now giving way to the fabulous plans of a wonder city in the making.



THE POOL AT JONES BEACH, LONG ISLAND, POPULAR HOT WEATHER RESORT FOR NEW YORK



JONES BEACH STADIUM, WHERE ENTERTAINMENT IS PROVIDED IN AN ATTRACTIVE WATER SETTING



CENTRAL PARK'S NEW ZOO PROVIDES MODERN HOUSING FOR ITS WIDE VARIETY OF ANIMALS

Flushing Creek, with its winding course, which traverses the land from end to end, will be transformed into a charming waterway in the detailed plans growing from day to day. A street system, a zoning ordinance, sewage system, parks, police, fire, underground conduits, traffic controls, and all the adjuncts of community service, are to be incorporated in the general plans of the Fair. And when this event will have spent its course in 1940 or 1941 the city of New York will inherit the basic structure of the enterprise. Even at this early date Mr. Moses is peering into the future: the ultimate end of the site, as park lands, it is a reasonable assumption, will always be uppermost in the mind of Mr. Moses.

Red tape is so much confetti to this personality, who has opened the eyes of a generation of tax-payers to the degree of efficiency with which civic improvements may be concluded.

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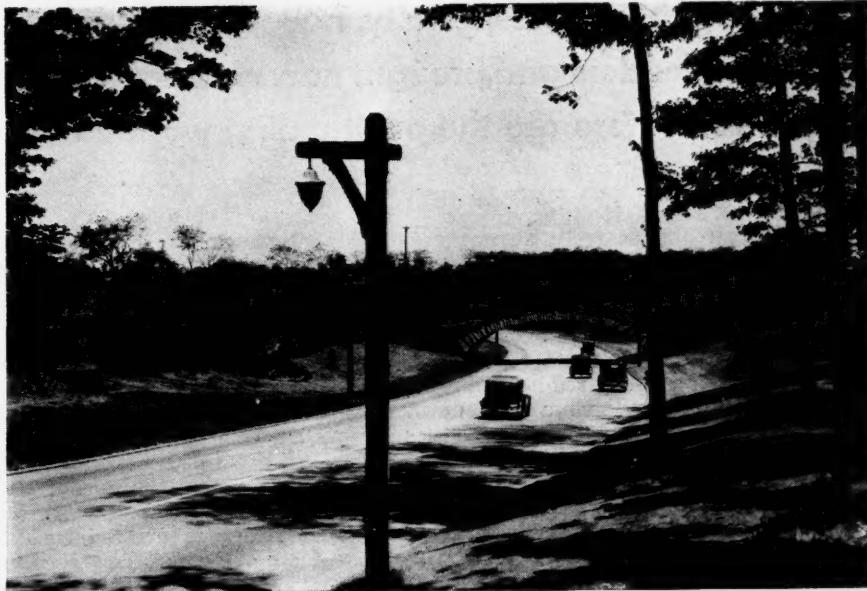
MC LAUGHLIN AERIAL SURVEYS, INC.

TRIBOROUGH BRIDGE CONNECTS MANHATTAN WITH THE BRONX AND WITH LONG ISLAND. SOUTHERN STATE PARKWAY, LONG ISLAND, BELOW

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ed, if the man at the top knows what he is talking about and knows how to go about getting it done. As occasion warrants this man takes the public into his confidence and lays his plans bare in the public press. He is calmly aware of the force of public opinion. And he is something of a master at telling a straightforward story.

New York will have its World's Fair—an act of God alone forbidding. And Moses will have much to do with its creation. There will be rumpled tresses and injured feelings, if precedent is to be followed, but New York is destined to enjoy the Fair and the \$100,000,000 that is to be spent on and at the exposition. And when it is all over and the curtain is drawn Bob Moses will be ready, with a little preparation, to turn over another park to the City of New York. The prophet will be seeking more wilderness to conquer.



BY
RAYMOND
CLAPPER



Republicans, especially, have cast aside old leaders and brought new ones to the front. Here are the outstanding workers

A YEAR AGO scarcely anyone outside of Kansas, except a few political scouts, had ever heard of Alfred M. Landon. Four years ago he was a modest business man running for a prairie state governorship. And a young red-headed chap, John Hamilton, was a small-town lawyer, dabbling in Kansas politics and doing errands for the conservative Republican boss of the state, the late Dave Mulvane. He had just participated in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent Alf Landon from winning the nomination for governor.

There was no love lost between them. Now they are the pair upon whom rest the hopes of millions of persons who are opposed to the reëlection of President Roosevelt.

Their quick rise illustrates perfectly how swiftly the political merry-go-round spins. In the last four years a whole new political generation has come of age. New leaders have taken places at the controls in both parties. Even the so-called lunatic fringe is dressed with the new faces of Lemke, Townsend, and Gerald K. Smith. Fresh lieutenants

have appeared, to lead the fighting on the battlefield. New brain trusts are hired to do skull work for the rival boards of strategy.

In politics four years is a long time. Eight years is a political generation. Many do not survive through even that brief span of life expectancy. Political principles, prejudices, cleavages, opposing economic interests persist, but the men who serve as the puppets of these forces bloom suddenly, glory in their brief moment of power, and then disappear. The proud Washington official, who rides today in a limousine with a fancy gold crest on the door, may tomorrow discover that he is again an obscure private pedestrian, obliged to leap for the curb to escape being struck by the government car in which he formerly basked as a distinguished passenger. Top hats change heads overnight in this game.

Within the last few months we

have witnessed an almost complete turnover of occupants in the front seats of the Republican party. Young John Hamilton steps in and announces: "I am running this show." Herbert Hoover, around whom so much internal strife waged, has now been canonized as the chief elder statesman of the party. Gone, and almost forgotten, too, are the Smoots, the Jim Watsons, the Henry P. Fletchers, the Dave Reeds, the Mel-lons, the Walter Browns, and dozens of men of their generation whose names, often unfamiliar to the average person, once carried power inside the Republican organization. Charlie Hilles, and Senator Fess, Ralph Williams, and Dan Pomeroy—they are still around but they no longer command the doors to influence. The Old Guard is on its uppers.

Governor Landon's nomination placed a new group in control of the Republican party organization. Older leaders—typified by Hilles, who for years has been the New York member of the Republican National Committee—had frowned upon any candidate coming into the convention with a majority. They wished to have a large field of candidates, with as many favorite sons as possible, so that the nomination could be decided by negotiation at the convention. To put it less elegantly, they wanted to trade among themselves and deal out the prize on their own terms. John Hamilton was not in high favor with them.

Two years ago, when the Repub-

lican National Committee met at Chicago to reorganize after the catastrophe of 1932, young Hamilton had the effrontery to stand as a candidate for the chairmanship of the national committee against Henry P. Fletcher, who was the choice of the old guard leaders of the party. He made something of a scene over this attempt of the East to hand-pick the new chairman, and even after they easily defeated him they never quite forgave him.

When the Landon candidacy began to snowball, some of them saw the handwriting on the wall. They tried to make a deal by which Landon would be helped into the nomination on condition that he would scuttle Hamilton, who by that time had become his pre-convention manager. They emphatically did not want this young upstart to step in as national chairman.

Of course the new nominee stood by his manager and asked that he be elected chairman of the Republican National Committee. This expressed wish could not be disregarded and Hamilton was chosen. Primarily for the sake of appearances, several of the old guard leaders were placed on the new executive committee. But Hamilton is, as he said soon after the Cleveland convention, running the show.

In the building of the new party organization, Hamilton, who is just 44 himself, has shown a preference for younger men and for faces new in the party's national affairs. This

youth movement however is in no sense a revolt against the political ideas of the old guard. Hamilton is as conservative as Charles D. Hilles. He was trained under one of the most conservative national committee members of the last generation, Dave Mulvane of Kansas. For the most part the men Hamilton has gathered around him are equally conservative. They are young Tories rather than Young Turks. Some of them Roosevelt might describe as the princes of economic royalty.

Governor Landon's line of descent follows the Bull Moose, Theodore Roosevelt side of the Republican family. But he has given Hamilton a free hand in building the new organization, and this new group continues essentially the same conservative brand of Republicanism as that held by the older group now being displaced. The change represents a shift of power, not a shift of party policy.

Among those with whom Hamilton has formed working alliances are such men as Robert P. Burroughs, 36, Republican national committeeman for New Hampshire; Cyrus McCormick III, new national committeeman for New Mexico; J. Kenneth Bradley, 33, of Connecticut, a protégé of the veteran J. Henry Roraback and now director of the Young Republican division; Representative Joseph Martin of Massachusetts; Joseph Pew, of the Sun Oil family, who recently has become the dominant backstage power in Pennsylvania Republican politics with the collaboration of Ernest T. Weir, head of the Weirton Steel Company; Robert Thayer and Kenneth Simpson of New York; and Wayland Brooks, 39, Republican candidate for governor of Illinois.

One of those closest to Hamilton during the pre-convention campaign was Charlton MacVeagh, son of Charles MacVeagh, ambassador to Japan under Coolidge. The younger MacVeagh became so attached to Hamilton that he took leave of his employers, J. P. Morgan and Company, to become a general aide to the young Kansas political impresario.

Others upon whom Hamilton is leaning for his chief contacts in various sections of the country include Representative J. Will Taylor of Tennessee; Walter S. Hallanan, Republican National Committeeman for West Virginia; and Ray Benjamin, who for years was one of Her-

GAME



LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE. LEFT TO RIGHT: BERRY, HILLMAN, LEWIS



CHARLTON MACVEAGH

bert Hoover's agents in California. Because they had been closely associated with Colonel Frank Knox's campaign for the presidential nomination, Ed Hayes of Illinois, former national commander of the American Legion, and William J. Donovan of Buffalo, former Assistant Attorney General, are now numbered among the new Republican young guard.



HENRY CABOT LODGE

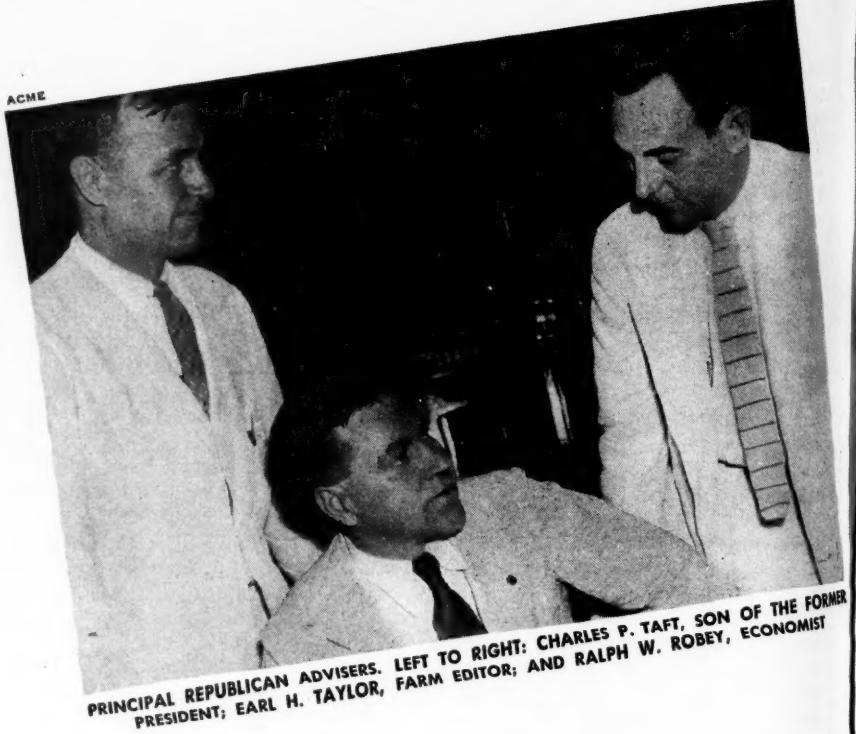
This rise of new and mostly younger men out of the wreckage of the party is noticeable not only in the national organization but in the states. In Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., grandson of the famous Senator, is at 33 years of age the Republican candidate for the United States Senate. Among younger Republican candidates for Governor are, not only Brooks in Illinois, but John Bricker, 42, in Ohio; Jesse W. Barrett in Missouri, and Alexander Wiley in Wisconsin.

One estimate at Republican National Committee headquarters in Chicago is that perhaps 80 per cent of the new Republican candidates for Congress, as well as candidates for Governor and United States Senator, are ex-service men in their forties or younger, like the party's candidate for President.

Many other new faces, not fitting into the foregoing categories, also are found in the present Republican set-up.

Arthur A. Ballantine, tax lawyer and former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and former Governor Myers Y. Cooper of Ohio, are active cogs in the main party headquarters at Chicago. Both are cutting their eye-teeth at this sort of work.

William B. Bell, president of the American Cyanamid Company, the patron who financed the Republican "brain trust" which was installed last spring, has been held over. He is in charge of money-raising for the Landon campaign. Dr. Olin G. Saxon, who studied law at Harvard under Prof. Felix Frankfurter, was selected as head of that research organization by Mr. Bell and he remains on in the same capacity under the new national committee. Through them Ralph West Robey, banking instructor at Columbia University and a member of the original Roosevelt brain trust until he rebelled at the New Deal's monetary policies, was sent to Topeka to join Governor Landon's personal advisory staff. Neither of them, despite their earlier associations, could by



PRINCIPAL REPUBLICAN ADVISERS. LEFT TO RIGHT: CHARLES P. TAFT, SON OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT; EARL H. TAYLOR, FARM EDITOR; AND RALPH W. ROBEY, ECONOMIST

any stretch of the imagination be regarded now as sympathetic to the New Deal. Almost without exception all of those catalogued in the Hamilton organization are vigorously anti-New Deal.

Apart from the national committee's organization and from these lieutenants of Chairman Hamilton is Governor Landon's own kitchen cabinet. This is his own creation, distinguishable from the strictly party group because it reflects more the candidate's own "practical progressive" outlook. It is significant that Landon chose as his chief technical adviser Charles P. Taft, 38, son of the late President and Chief Justice, and a leader in civic reform activities in Cincinnati. Taft is a "moderate" who voted for Roosevelt in 1932. He is one of those who remains sympathetic with many of the purposes of the New Deal but objects to its waste and inefficiency.

Another personal selection of Governor Landon's was Earl H. Taylor, a former Kansan, an agricultural journalist, who was invited to join the Topeka staff to assemble data and advise on the many agricultural questions.

The nomination of Governor Landon also brought into positions of greater influence some of those upon whom he had long depended for political advice while he was a little-known aspirant for the party's chief honor this year. This group includes such men as the Kansas City Star people—Roy A. Roberts, managing editor, former Washington correspondent, and a classmate of Governor Landon at the University of Kansas; Lacy Haynes, Kan-

sas editor of that paper; and Henry Haskell, its editor-in-chief. For years William Allen White has been associated intimately with Landon in Kansas politics and he was the Governor's platform spokesman at the Cleveland convention. Oscar Stauffer and several other publishers of smaller daily newspapers in Kansas continue to have the ear of the presidential candidate as they did before he became a national figure. Their complexion as a whole is progressive.

The Republican campaign also brings new faces to the stump. Until a few months ago, Colonel Frank Knox seldom made a speech, and was known not as a politician but as a newspaper publisher. He will carry the brunt of the speaking for the national ticket, at least in mileage and word count. Senator Borah, who usually shines on the hustings during presidential years, is engaged in a reelection fight in Idaho this year and is not likely to appear off of his home grounds.

Likewise the Republican leader of the Senate, Charles L. McNary, is up for reelection in Oregon where he persuaded the New Deal to invest millions of dollars in Bonneville Dam and where the Administration still is strong. He is too busy saving his own seat to be of any use to the party nationally.

But the national committee is working out heavy bookings for Senator Vandenberg, who refused the vice-presidential nomination once too often but who thereby gained for himself enough national prominence to make him a star box-office attraction for Republican rallies.

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Senator Steiwer, of Oregon, who became a national figure when he was selected as keynoter for the recent Cleveland convention, will do his share of platform thundering during the campaign.

Naturally the roll-call on the Democratic side does not reveal so many new faces. The heavy turnover among the Democrats came four years ago when the Roosevelt-Farley group moved in and displaced the Raskob-Jouett Shouse-Al Smith faction. Overnight many party stalwarts were sent to the showers, and more followed after Roosevelt was inaugurated and the real New Dealers captured Washington. The old-timers are still walking, Smith, Jim Reed, Former Governor Ely, John W. Davis, and others not so well known.

Lewis Douglas, Roosevelt's first budget director, has left. George Peek, who helped launch AAA, is at war with the Administration. General Hugh Johnson, although still the Administration's friend, has become one of its severest critics. Even the faithful Ray Moley, head of the original brain trust, is now tempering his support with tart and publicly administered advice.

Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in remaking the Democratic party. Although it still enjoys the election-day support of such dark-age machines as those of Frank Hague in New Jersey, Pick-axe Kelly in Chicago and Pendergast in Missouri, the citizen at large is more conscious of Ickes, Wallace, and Tugwell, of Governor Lehman in New York, and of Guffey and Earle in Pennsylvania. The Democratic party has its share of Tories and bourbons, but it seems to be able to keep them out of sight when company comes.

Incidentally, why the Republicans allow Charlie Michelson and the Democratic propaganda machine to whip them around the lot as oppressors of labor and never call attention to the oppression of the share-croppers under Democratic management in Arkansas, is one of the numerous mysteries of the minority party's operations.

On the Democratic side one new set of figures has come down from the back row this year and taken front seats. These are the leaders of organized labor. Their current activity is the newest and most significant development in our national politics.

Some weeks ago John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, and Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, set up an organization known as Labor's Non-Partisan League. They made Major George

L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, head of this group. Its announced purposes are (first) to re-elect Roosevelt and (second) to function as a permanent organization which will serve as the nucleus of a liberal party, or at least a labor party, in 1940.

This is admittedly an attempt on the part of labor to enter national politics as a class-conscious group.

Many persons in Washington believe that Lewis is likely to be a candidate for President in 1940. The fact that this has been asserted publicly without provoking any disavowal from him has strengthened that supposition. Whether labor finally will decide to proceed in 1940 as a separate political party, like the British Labor party, or whether it will attempt to capture the machinery of the Democratic party when Roosevelt lets go, probably the leaders themselves do not know. Such matters of strategy may well be shaped by events between now and 1940.

At any rate, practically all persons

of NRA and advanced his position greatly during that period.

Another astute figure in this newest labor development, but one not so prominent in the public eye, is Sidney Hillman, head of the garment workers. A Lithuanian, 49 years old, Hillman came to the United States when he was 20, and from that time has been active in trades union work. He was a member of NRA during its later stages.

The third member of the new labor triumvirate is Major Berry, suave and energetic executive for the movement. He has not been involved in the controversy between Lewis and the A.F. of L. and is serving as a liaison to bring the craft-union following into the political organization now being developed. He is in good standing in the Democratic party and several times was a candidate from Tennessee for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination.

Thus the new faces which are appearing on the political skyline this year seem to tell us that new cleavages are developing which may in the course of the next few years

considerably alter the traditional party alignment in this country. Hitherto the party division has not followed economic lines but has cut at right angles across them, both Republican and Democratic parties being composed of conservative and liberal wings. Governor Lan-



familiar with national politics now anticipate that in the next presidential campaign labor will become an organized factor occupying a major spot in the general picture.

Lewis is the leader of this movement and his ability to turn the labor movement into political channels is widely conceded. How effective he will be will depend partly upon the outcome of the schism which has developed between him and the craft-union group which controls the American Federation of Labor. In this is involved also the fate of his attempt to organize steel employees into an industrial union. That was the precipitating incident leading to the recent suspension of Lewis and his supporters from the A.F. of L. He was quick to see the opportunities offered by the labor provisions



don seems to be attempting to preserve that traditional alignment.

But it is possible that economic forces, now far more intertwined with political action than ever before, are relentlessly pushing themselves forward to dominate party policy. That, at least, is suggested by the fact that the new Republicans are almost entirely representative of conservative interests, whereas on the Democratic side labor is coming forward to accentuate the progressive or liberal interest.

WHAT EUROPE SEES

A



A. DOUGLAS CULLEN, BLACK STAR

Native help quickly learns the techniques of heavy industry. Removing blister copper from caster

Africa, still the Unknown Continent to the majority of Americans, looms large in the European sense of imperial proportions. Mr. Hubbard, distinguished explorer, author, and student of African affairs, has reported for Review readers his first-hand observations and impressions of trends and their backgrounds

by WYNANT DAVIS HUBBARD

• LITTLE by little the importance of Africa to Europe is becoming understood in America. For many months pages six to eight of our newspapers have been filled with the jockeyings for position involved in the various debates centered in the League of Nations. Equally every day Africa has figured in some section of this news. Africa is being forced upon our consciousness whether we like it or not. Willy-nilly we are paying more attention to the economic and political developments in the Dark Continent than we ever have before.

This new (so far as America is concerned) interest in Africa began with the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and the attendant discussions revolving about sanctions, the possible spread of revolt against white rule, water rights and slavery, fevers and heat. Interest was continued by the riotings and change of administration in Egypt, the change in the British policy for imperial naval defense, and the recent visit of the South African Defense Minister, Oswald Pirow, to London.

Articles are being written about the prosperity of South Africa, and news concerning the proposed Cape-town naval base and the coming Johannesburg exposition is being sent all over the world. Hidden away among this mass of news there appear frequent references to the Portuguese African colonies of Mozambique and Angola and their naturally endowed richness.

It is accepted that Germany will soon present a formal demand to the world for the return of her former African colonies. It has been written that Germany, if denied these lands, will attempt expansion toward the east into Russia. It has also been written, now that Mussolini has Ethiopia, that his eyes are turning more and more toward those Central European countries which lie to the east of Italy.

Unbalanced budgets, the rise of dictators, revolution, unemployment, rearmament, and defiance of and collapse by the League of Nations are setting the stage in Europe for

Africa

another outburst of barbarism in the shape of war. Behind almost all of this political, economic turmoil lies the great continent of Africa.

It is difficult for us in America to appreciate why this is so, because we have nearly all the material resources which European countries lack. We have beef and grain, hides, wool, cotton, copper, coal, oil, and vast other resources. We have vast acreages of land. European countries either do not have these or they are insufficient to their needs.

Africa has nearly all the resources which Europe needs. In addition there is land for settlement of unemployed, surplus, discontented people. There is a tremendous opportunity for trade expansion, and the possession of colonies means not only that there will be a certain yearly cash return to the mother country but a supply of troops should they become necessary.

Because Africa offers more nat-

ural resources than Central Europe or southwestern Russia, more possibilities for trade development, more land for settlement, I believe that if war comes it will be based upon a need by the European countries for a reshufflement of the colonial question in Africa. The conflict may take the form of an invasion into the Ukraine or Central Europe, or a threat to do so, but the ultimate object will be the acquisition of territory in Africa.

Why do I believe this? Because of the estimated yearly world production of gold of some 940 millions of dollars, 400-odd millions come from Africa. Canada and the United States combined produce approximately one half as much.

Because Africa contains about 180 millions of Negroes, who a few years ago had and wanted practically nothing which white people manufactured but who are now learning to appreciate blankets, knives, pots,

clothes, tools, and other articles made by whites. This is an ever-increasing market, the ultimate extent of which no one can grasp.

Because Africa contains enormous deposits of rich copper ore, is the world's greatest source of chrome, has asbestos, tin, lead, zinc, coal, platinum, cobalt, mica, phosphate, potash and soda deposits of great extent and value.

Because Africa produces large quantities of wool, hides, beef, sugar, wattle bark, palm oils, spices and gums, grains, cotton, coffee, tobacco, fruits, and skins.

There is no European or Russian country that can compete with Africa in these respects. There is no European country which draws the attention of the directing heads of countries which feel the need of expansion, or the need to resist the expansion of others, so much as Africa.

Lastly, I believe Africa will be at the bottom of the next war because there is present in the world the curious feeling that it is more legal to take colonies than to conquer and wipe out an established nation. Colonies are only appurtenances. They do not fall under the classification of autonomous governments. Automatically, therefore, they become more legitimate prey than the older and more established nations which own them.

Let us take one typical African colony and examine its relation to its owning and governing country. Northern Rhodesia, for instance. I have lived there for many years as a rancher, farmer, and hunter, and know the country well.

Opened up to white settlement around 1900, Northern Rhodesia is new, like all the other colonies in Africa excepting South and North Africa and Egypt. Situated in the center of the continent, immediately south of the Congo, Northern Rhodesia lacks a port of its own but is connected with both the Indian and Atlantic oceans by railways.

It is a high plateau country with a few permanent rivers and much tree-covered country. Large parts are suitable for cattle raising and a



R. I. NESMITH

A local contractor superintends the loading of a consignment of British-made bicycles. Canoe transportation still plays an important part in the last stages of delivery.

smaller area for farming. The climate is one adapted to white settlement but so far the maximum of white settlers has been about ten thousand. There are a million and a quarter of Negroes.

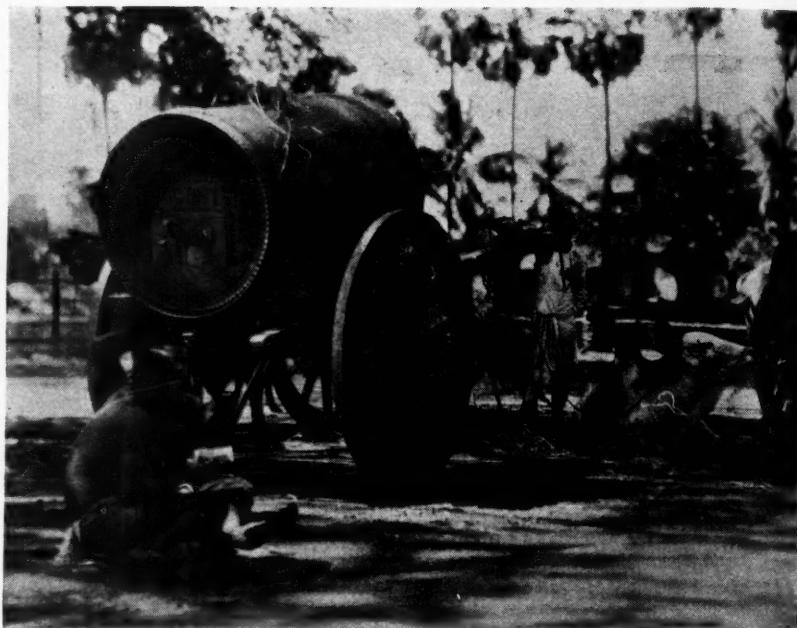
Mining is the main and most profitable industry, especially copper-mining, and most of the wage-earners are connected with the mines. With their thousands of natives who must be fed standard rations as set down by the Government, these mines constitute the main internal market for beef and other ranch and farm produce that the settlers produce. Without them Rhodesia would still be the comparatively poor and primitive country it was when I first went there fourteen years ago.

NATIVE FASHION

In those days the majority of the natives who came in for work were dressed, if you can call it that, in a cat-skin which dangled in front of them. Some had skin blankets and capes and a few had second-hand khaki overcoats, shorts, and shirts. They cooked in clay pots, carried a fire-stick when on the march, and chopped their wood with a round bit of iron hammered to a blade and stuck into a heavy knobbed club. With their women they hoed up their ground by hand. The water necessary to life was carried from the wells or river in clay pots on the backs or heads of the ladies of the tribe. Sleds, made by cutting down a large forked tree and burning a hole through the neck end, were pulled by oxen when it was necessary to move heavy or bulky supplies such as grain.

In Livingstone, the capital, there were a few motor cars. These were confined to the town, for there were no roads on which they could travel. The buildings, including Government House, were made from the horrible and hot and ubiquitous corrugated iron. The most reliable method of shifting heavy loads, away from the railway, was by wagon drawn by sixteen or eighteen oxen. Men wanting to go places walked, for horses did not live long enough in that country so that men could afford to own them. The hotels were poor and small, and only in Livingstone was there electric light and ice.

Ten years later, near white settlements or the railway, it was unusual to see a native dressed only in cat-skin. The trade stores were doing a big business in plows and cotton-print goods. Their shelves were stocked high with blankets ranging in price from fifty cents to six dollars. There were dresses, shoes, pocket knives, axes, pails and pots of all sizes and descriptions, enamel



LIONEL GREEN

Primitive transport for a modern necessity; gasoline tank wagons in South East Africa slowly cross country still too difficult for the economical carriage of heavy supplies

ware, vaseline, hats, flour, sugar and tea, jam, knives and forks, traps and innumerable other items for sale or barter.

Many natives had bought wagons and carts. The whites had automobiles. A few luxurious fellows had their own electric light plants and artesian wells. The hotels had improved and blossomed into buildings of twenty or thirty rooms, and more. The railway stations, instead of being iron sheds, were handsome stone affairs. It was possible to telephone from one town to another. There were many more police, and government doctors were more numerous and better equipped.

In 1933 Northern Rhodesia imported nearly \$10,000,000 worth of goods and exported nearly double that amount of minerals and produce. The Government had a revenue of \$3,500,000 and an expenditure of about \$4,000,000. Northern Rhodesia had grown up and become a protectorate of considerable value to the British Empire.

MANY VALUES

There are many ways in which this comparatively new country of Northern Rhodesia is of value to England. It provides a source of raw materials such as copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, gold and cobalt, which can be produced at reasonable cost owing to the immense supply of low-paid labor. It produces tobacco of good grade, which competes with tobacco brought from America. It produces corn, hides, cotton, tea and other agricultural products. It offers land for the settlement of a few Englishmen, and business and professional

opportunities for more. Opportunities for trade are perhaps even more important than natural resources.

Fifteen years ago the natives had little cash. The traders did most of their business on a basis of barter: so many pounds of grain for a yard of cloth, so many bullocks for a blanket, and so forth. These bullocks and grain and skins and beeswax and hides were sent down to the railway line by ox wagon, and disposed of to traveling buyers at cattle auctions or else shipped to firms in South Africa which eventually sent them overseas. It was a slow process before the items which the trader had accepted for his goods were turned into cash. Consequently credit facilities had to be large and to run for long periods.

NATIVE TRADE

Today there is comparatively a large sum of cash in the hands of the native population. Barter is still in effect, but it is much easier and quicker than ever before for the trader to turn his animals and produce into cash. Motor trucks carry stores to and from the trading stations. There is better service on the railways. There are larger markets in the country and cash is easier to find because the mines and other enterprises pay out large payrolls.

This has come about not only because of the native's ability to secure more work at better pay; education, slowly spreading, is also playing its part. I do not refer to education in letters and figures, being given by mission schools and government instruction, so much as to that which comes to the natives through association with white set-

tlers, mines, railways, and other white enterprises.

The turnover in the unskilled labor of every ranch, farm, trading establishment, railway gang, etc., is rapid. Natives come in to work to secure a specific sum of money. Perhaps it is the hut tax or money for a wife or a gun or some other definite object. When they have that money they quit and return to their village.

But in the course of their brief association with whites the natives see plows and cultivators at work, they find out the use of the white man's hammers, saws, augers, and nails and screws and hinges. They taste some of the white man's food such as sugar and jam and flour. They discover the use of paint, fertilizers, traps, and bricks. They come to appreciate the convenience of trousers, slickers, shirts, hats, shoes, and other clothing. The houseboys discuss plates and knives and forks and pots, and how the white man and his family live.

SPREADING CULTURE

As a result the native returns to his village with many new ideas and experiences, which he relates to those who have not seen the things with which he has so recently been in contact. Gradually this sort of knowledge has spread, and wants and needs of a new type have been created. Now it is unusual to go into any village in Rhodesia and not find the majority of the men wearing shorts of some sort and a shirt or two. The women have cloth, and pots and enamel basins instead of baskets and clay pots. Some of the hut doors will be fastened with nails, and it would be surprising if some one in the village did not have a few tools, shoes, hats, and dresses.

This demand from the natives is not only increasing in quantity but in variety and quality as well. There are silks on the traders' shelves today, and bloomers and silk stockings for the women. The blankets are of better quality and some stores carry complete lines of boots and shoes. Where previously there might have been a half dozen plows, all of one make, in front of the store today there are crates and crates of plows and small cultivators of different makes and sizes and prices.

Native trading stores are rapidly becoming similar to the general store of our small American town. Thread, needles, cotton goods, hardware, fishhooks, bolts and nuts, tools, clothing, cards, medicants, food, and other lines stock the shelves. Where one white man could easily attend to the business with the help of a native storekeeper there are today two and three whites and a score of natives.

Trucks come and go to and from the railway. Bartering for grain is no longer by the pound but by the bag or even hundreds of bags, for the native is branching out and becoming in many instances a minor producer. Cash enters into transactions more frequently than ever, and I know of several natives who have bank accounts with their district postmasters.

Such a developing market is an outlet any producing country—whether it be England or Germany or Italy or Belgium—needs and wants and will defend or try to get. When such a country, in addition, is a source for materials which the home country lacks, or represents opportunity for settlement, it is understandable that the European countries consider Africa highly valuable.

OTHER RETURNS

There are two other valuable points in connection with colonial possessions which I have not seen emphasized. These are the indirect form of ship subsidy which colonies represent and, more important, the annual flow of new cash which enters the home country from a colonial possession. The two are related, so I shall discuss them together.

Throughout Northern Rhodesia, to continue with the example chosen for discussion, there are many employees of the railway, banks, and the Government who enjoy a vacation overseas each year. These men and women are engaged with the understanding that at periodic

intervals they are to return to the 'home country' for a vacation with pay and travel paid, for periods usually of six months. These vacations come every two-and-a-half, three, or three-and-a-half years. They mean that each year there is an exodus from Rhodesia, to England, of men and women with cash in their pockets traveling on English ships, expenses paid. I would estimate that there are 2,000 such travelers from Northern Rhodesia each year.

For the three years before their vacation these travelers have been saving every penny possible toward having a good old time in the home country. As the majority of the men live in either government or company houses their rent is little or nothing. The majority receive assistance in one form or another toward the transportation of their food and belongings, their medical needs, and their native help. So when these men go on their vacations they have respectable sums of money to spend. The average is probably about five hundred pounds, say \$2500.

FIVE MILLION

So from little Rhodesia, which is by no means the most important of Britain's African colonies, England receives each year a cash sum of five million dollars. This is *new* money for England, money which comes out of Rhodesia and does not return. It is money which is largely spent for luxuries which the average Englishman resident in England could not buy. The men and women who re-

ACME



Many familiar devices strike a quick response from native window shoppers—and listeners. A few, like the phonograph shown here, stimulate their own demand, make sales easy.

turn annually to the 'home country' are starved for theaters, for autos, for fun and gaiety, and for new clothes and little extravagances of all sorts. And they spend their money for these things.

ENGLISH SHIPPING

As the Government is naturally more interested in English shipping than in that of other nations, as the banks and railways are more intimately connected with or financially interested in English ships, their employees travel in the main on ships which fly the English flag. Two thousand round-trip passages each year is an indirect form of subsidy to English shipping from Rhodesia which is not to be despised.

Ten millions a year in imports and fifteen in exports. Five millions in cash each year to the home country. Ship subsidy to the extent of two thousand passages. Copper ore reserves estimated at 236,000,000 tons. Investment and business opportunity for thousands of English pounds and hundreds of British subjects. A growing market of more than a million and a quarter people. Can you wonder that England intends to hang on to Northern Rhodesia, and recoils from any suggestion of giving adjoining Tanganyika back to Germany?

Tanganyika has a population of more than five million. It has its own ports on the Indian Ocean and many miles of railway. It has five million cattle, five million sheep, three million goats, and five million pigs. It imports ten millions worth of goods each year, a little more than 50 per cent coming from Great Britain.

Like Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika returns settlers, officials, and others to England with cash; and they, too, travel on English ships. Tanganyika natives are improving their social status and developing needs just as are the Rhodesian natives. The market in the ex-German colony is even greater than that of Rhodesia. No wonder that Governor Cameron stated: "There is no provision in the mandate for its termination or transfer. Tanganyika is a part of the British Empire and will remain so."

VARIED YIELDS

Consider what England's African Empire means to her. There are fifteen major British colonies and protectorates in Africa, not including South Africa. If we use Northern Rhodesia as an average—and that is fair, for some are larger and some smaller—it means that the African colonies return each year to England \$75,000,000; that thirty thousand

people make a round trip on British ships each year, the expenses being borne by the African territories. One hundred and fifty millions of dollars' worth of goods are imported by these colonies yearly, at least half coming from Great Britain.

In return, under preferential tariffs and other exchange features, these countries export minerals, gold, and agricultural produce of an infinite variety to the extent of nearly \$225,000,000. A large part of this goes to England or to other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

SOUND FINANCE

It must be remembered that although England furnished the bulk of the money for original development, the loans are being repaid. These countries—which subsidize English shipping, return cash to England, buy from her and ship to her, and absorb and give employment to thousands of Englishmen—are running under their own steam so far as finances go.

What is true of English colonies is true of French, Belgian, and Portuguese. It will be true in time for Italy. Compare these facts with the facts about eastern Europe, and remember that Africa is a very young country nowhere near her highest development. Then you can understand why, when colonies are mentioned, Europe's eyes turn southward to and across the Sahara.

It is a peculiar situation which pertains to Africa. In all of that enormous continent there were only three peoples capable of fighting against any European power which wished to subjugate them. That is, in the modern sense. They were the Arabs of the northern part, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians. I have put this in the past tense, for the Ethiopians have been conquered, the Arabs are pretty well under control and the Egyptians are living in more or less harmony with the British.

MASS TRANSFERS

In no other country in the world, with the possible exception of India, could mass transfers of land and populations be accomplished with so little trouble from the indigenous population as in Africa. This is an important point when any territorial expansionist program is under consideration.

The constant expense to Germany, for instance, of policing and keeping the Ukraine peoples under control, is scarcely comparable. The Ukraine, while very prosperous, does not offer the advantages which Germany could obtain from Tanganyika.

The Ukraine is densely populated. It has neither the variety nor the extent of resources which the African colony possesses. Because of the expense of administration the Ukraine could not return to Germany the cash which would flow out of Tanganyika.

GERMANY'S ATTITUDE

All in all, it is difficult to picture Germany as being as anxious for the Ukraine, from a territorial acquisition point of view, as she would be for a slice of Africa. Because I believe this I can easily understand the hints which are coming out more and more constantly that Germany does need colonies; that she is, by virtue of her standing as one of the Great Powers, entitled to them, and that Portugal is a small, comparatively unimportant, and defenceless nation really not requiring such extensive African colonies as she possesses.

I can understand why South Africa, bartering with England over the questions involved in the new Cape-town naval base, should ask for the formal inclusion of old German Southwest Africa into the Union of South Africa, and ask that when the Portuguese territories come to be divided she be given a large slice. I can understand why Germany wants her colonies back, why Mussolini wiped out Ethiopia as a nation. I can understand why France and Belgium and Portugal and England are worried about Germany's coming demands.

JAPAN'S STAKE

I can understand why Japan is making such an intensive drive to corner as much as possible of the growing native trade in Africa, and why the countries which own the African colonies are looking at her inroads with such worryment.

I can understand all this. But I can see no acceptable solution. War will only reshuffle the map and leave hard feelings where there is now complacency, and complacency where there is now envy and greed. It having become apparent that we, as nations, cannot resolve such difficulties by a system of exchange and barter and give and take for the good of the world as a whole, I foresee that within years we shall go mad again and that war will come upon us.

When it does, make no mistake. Africa the Dark Continent, Africa the land of natives, wild animals, fevers, jungles, and deserts, will be at the bottom. Europe knows that Americans think only of those things when they think of Africa. But Europeans know how rich, how valuable, how necessary Africa is.

BIG BUSINESS in miniature

Nine hundred manufacturing corporations flourish in the United States with officers and workers all under twenty-one. Girls as well as boys thus learn business

AMERICA has 900 corporations run by 13,000 boys and girls, 16 to 21 years of age. Miniature, they are nonetheless complete—from janitor to president, headaches to success, raw products to finished articles. There is none of your “playing store” about these enterprises. Young directors pay rent, wages and dividends; the products made are sold on a quality basis in the open market. The companies afford ideal training in all phases of business effort.

It seems surprising that these companies have been operating seventeen years with scarcely any public recognition. In 1919 Horace A. Moses, head of the Strathmore Paper Company, realized that, with all our vaunted educational system, no provision was made for teaching youth the habits and methods by which they could earn their bread. Why not, he asked himself, help a group of boys and girls form a small company of their own, and learn business by actual experience? Would not the educational value be enormous?

The results have proved the soundness of Mr. Moses' idea as well as repaid him in satisfaction for the \$250,000 he put into it, for the purpose of organizing and guiding—not subsidizing—the Junior Achievement companies. The late Theodore N. Vail was so much interested when Mr. Moses called on him that he volunteered another \$250,000. Calvin Coolidge heartily endorsed the idea. Rotary raised \$50,000 for the work. Starting in Springfield, Massachusetts, this work spread rapidly through New England. It found warm soil in New York, where there are now 55 companies, and made its way as far west as Colorado.

Suppose we are a group of young-

sters who want to organize a company. We may be in high school or employed in business. Perhaps we belong to a church club and feel that something is lacking in our program. By writing headquarters, we tap the cumulative experience of hundreds of other companies, get advice and forms that will be invaluable as we proceed.

There are 15 of us—not more. With us are four grown-ups; a business man who has promised to sponsor the group and act as general business adviser, a crafts leader

(often a high school manual training teacher), a sales counsel, and the other adult acts as chairman of committee. Officers are chosen first from our membership—president, treasurer, production manager, sales manager, advertising man, and the secretary.

We decide to build bird houses. A name for our company is decided on, and we come to the question of choosing a factory site. One of the boys gets the floor. “We've got a place over the barn that dad would let us use. That would save rent.”



BY RAY GILES



Boys of a Junior Achievement group at work in their own laboratory and factory. They also take turns at selling their products

Another volunteers, "Dad would let us have maybe \$50 worth of hardware just to help the enterprise along."

"We can't take any charity, fellows," the president says. "This is a business, and we don't want to sponge on anybody. We might take that loft after looking at other sites, but if we decide on it, we'll pay a reasonable rent. And Hicks, we'll study your dad's prices on hardware, and get some other estimates. But we've got to buy what we use. It will be the property of the whole corporation."

SELLING SHARES OF STOCK

Then we arrive at the matter of raising working capital for rent, supplies and tools. At this point, the treasurer produces a neat printed certificate. "This is a share. It sells for 50 cents. We've got to go out and sell it to men who think it's a sound investment. No one can buy over 10 shares—we don't want any one person owning a controlling interest. When we sell enough shares we open up a bank account and we're ready to start."

The workshop is rented, wage rate and the working hours (7 to 9 on Wednesday and Friday nights) are agreed upon, and the corporation is open for business. The immediate production schedule calls for seven bird houses, the design having been worked out with the crafts leader. The first bird house is completed on the third evening and the production manager, squinting his eyes critically and conferring with the crafts leader, gives it his okay. There is a

brief meeting at the end of the evening to price the article.

Next afternoon the sales manager and an assistant make their first calls on likely prospects. At the end of a month, the corporation has created a taste for bird houses and closed their books with a profit. One customer has ordered three large bird houses made to order. In their rounds the boys have picked up other hints and orders—for flower sticks, knife racks, plate racks, tables, wooden salad bowls. The company finds at the end of its third month, somewhat to the distress of the treasurer, that it must take its profit and invest in new lathes and tools needed to keep up with the demand for new commodities.

What happens in this corporation happens, more or less, in 899 other companies. The thing is real. A New England group making iron bridge lamps found the demand for their output such that they now devote full time to the job.

WHAT THEY MAKE

The range of articles varies considerably. One of the most successful companies, the Oddity Shop at Flushing, New York, started off working in iron, but this demand was soon met and the group shifted to wood. They have adjusted their program repeatedly to changing requirements. Stock, originally priced at 50 cents a share, is now quoted at \$1.15. Last year the company paid 10 percent dividend to some 60-odd

stockholders and bonuses to members.

There are companies in which boys and girls work together. In one the boys make chairs and girls upholster them. There are all-girl companies. One in New York makes a roomy sleeved garment to protect the clothes of children who dribble their cereal or spinach. Another turns out a cork mat to put under children's dishes to save linen. Other products include toys, desk pads, ash trays, cigarette cases, bookends, match holders, purses, sticks for flower beds, weather vanes, door stops, paper knives, sugar and cream sets, rings and broaches.

AN ALL-GIRL COMPANY

The members of one all-girl company work in a large insurance office. They wanted to broaden their business horizon. They specialize in scarf clasps of catalin, a new plastic which comes in 1800 different colors. Most of these are carved with the customer's initials and sold to fellow employees. The members of another girl's company are all of Italian descent. They find crosses carved of catalin their best selling item, 108 being ordered recently in a single week.

The byproducts of Junior Achievement are, if possible, more impressive than the products. Each company is small enough to give every member diversified business training. When a man is through at 21, he can tell his prospective employer that he has been janitor, accountant, salesman, president, treasurer, sales manager, and director of a corporation.

Many business houses give preference to job hunters who have had Junior Achievement experience and outlook.

Its value in training character was demonstrated when a gang of juvenile hooligans had the citizens of a New York suburb in terror. Various noble agencies attempted to reform them, but in vain. One day a social worker, by some magic touch, gained their confidence. He in turn asked Junior Achievement headquarters to display sample products. Chatter started. Objects were handled. The boys began to be suspicious. The Junior Achievement leader spoke up. "How would you boys like to make things like that?" They looked at him sharply. They conferred. Their suspicion deepened, but only because they wanted eagerly to make things like that and yet considered the possibility fantastic.

HOODLUMS BECOME BUSINESS MEN

That was three years ago. The gang became a corporation, and the leader was the first president. They have developed great skill in pewterware, and the company is doing a land-office business, priding itself no less on the beauty and quality of its products than on its good reputation in the community. The gang has discovered that it's more fun to buy and sell than it is to steal.

Hardly less transforming has been the effect of Junior Achievement companies on normally boisterous youngsters. It has taught coöperation and schooled boys and girls in meeting their fellows. A purpose as well as a premium is placed on integrity and accuracy.

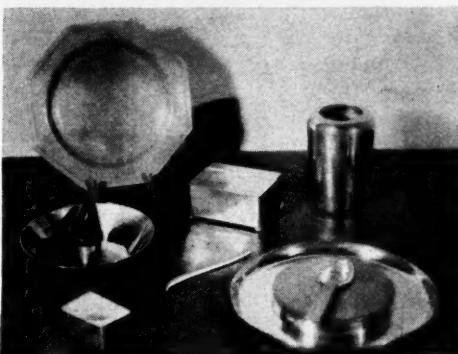
Adult assistants derive as much from these sterling enterprises as the little business men who run them. In spite of all the ingenuity and enthusiasm which the youngsters display, they need advice, suggestions for new products and designs, hints about dealing with the public.

Sometime ago I talked to a busi-

ness man who had hired a Junior Achievement graduate. He wanted to know more about the organization, and I told him all I could. "The thing is full of possibilities," he ventured. "Why doesn't some company make maps showing how to get to homes in the country? Why doesn't a group work out an organized service for odd jobs, selling their abilities and working on a businesslike basis? Why doesn't someone start that?"

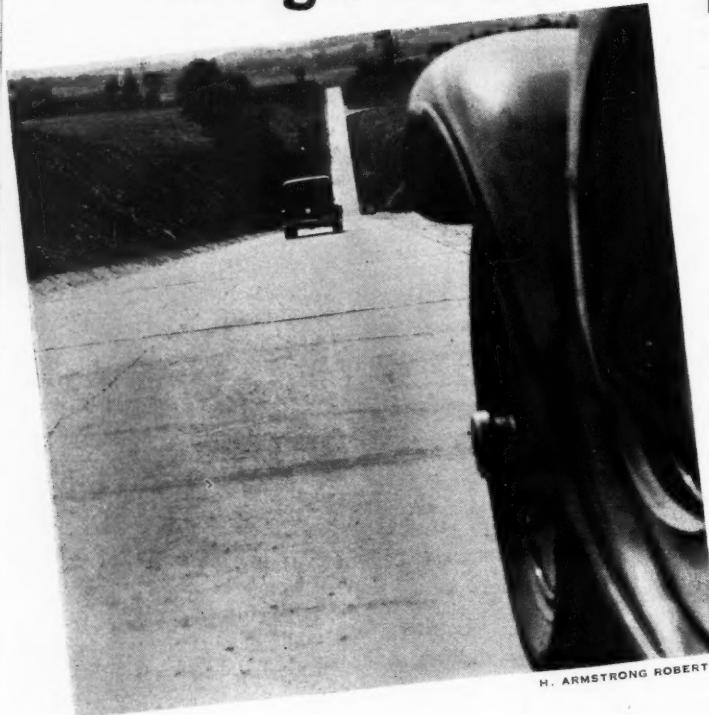
"Why don't you?" I asked. Well, he did. And this fellow, who seems gruff and has never contributed anything but money to community effort, is now the proud father of a Junior Achievement company. He says he gets more kick out of it than he does from his own business.

Many a "tired" business or professional man or equally tired business woman finds this activity bringing a rich new interest into their lives. There is a thrill in sharing with younger enthusiasts your knowledge of business and the crafts. Perhaps in your own neighborhood there's a club or gang who would welcome the chance to incorporate a business of their own. At any rate, it is not surprising that the movement started by Horace A. Moses almost 20 years ago continues to be of vital interest to him and is steadily expanding.



Making articles that are easy to sell is a career open to girls as well as boys. The plan is to make them executives and financiers, not merely workers

forgotten pedestrians



By J. B. PENNYBACKER

Former Chief Highway Economist U. S. Bureau of Public Roads

A PATH FOR PEDESTRIANS, ALONG THE HIGHWAY, WOULD PROVIDE WORK—AND SAVE HUMAN LIFE

A FEW WEEKS AGO a ten-year-old country boy was plodding his way to school through a heavy storm. He was walking along the highway, not by choice but by necessity; because there was no pedestrian path or sidewalk bordering the road. Two hundred feet from the schoolhouse he was struck by a skidding motorist and killed.

Multiply this schoolboy by two thousand and more men, women, and children similarly killed every year along the public highways. Multiply him by more than ten thousand injured under the same circumstances. Then you begin to get a picture of the one form of safety hazard which nobody seems to worry about, though it is one of the greatest menaces to our rural population.

The dangers of pedestrian use of highways, necessitated by the lack of footpaths or other bordering walks, can best be shown by contrasting the fatality figures with those for railroad grade crossings. In the public mind these latter loom large, for they are spectacular catastrophes. The mental picture is dramatic—a snorting, fire-spouting, giant locomotive crashing with murderous force into a diminutive vehicle and its tinier occupants. There is an accompaniment of splintered, shattered horror which never fails to appall, and which for

that very reason has raised public indignation to the point where it has demanded action.

Yet the actual statistics show that out of 826,690 automobile accidents reported in 1935 only 4,960 (or about six-tenths of one per cent) involved collision with a railroad train. The deaths from this type of accident numbered 1,440 and the injured 4,480.

Shocking as these figures are, they lose much of their impressiveness when one studies the plight of the pedestrian who has to walk along the highway. In the same year, 1935, the known number of deaths of such pedestrians was 3,030 or nearly two and a quarter times the number at rail crossings, while the toll of the injured among those walking on rural roads was 11,620. This is more than two and a half times the number injured at rail crossings.

Obviously these pedestrians, who as a class are far less guilty of contributory negligence than are the drivers of cars which collide with railroad trains, should have a measure of protection. As a matter of fact the out-of-town pedestrian is the forgotten figure in the vast program for motor safety. When he lives out the normal span of life without accident it is his good luck.

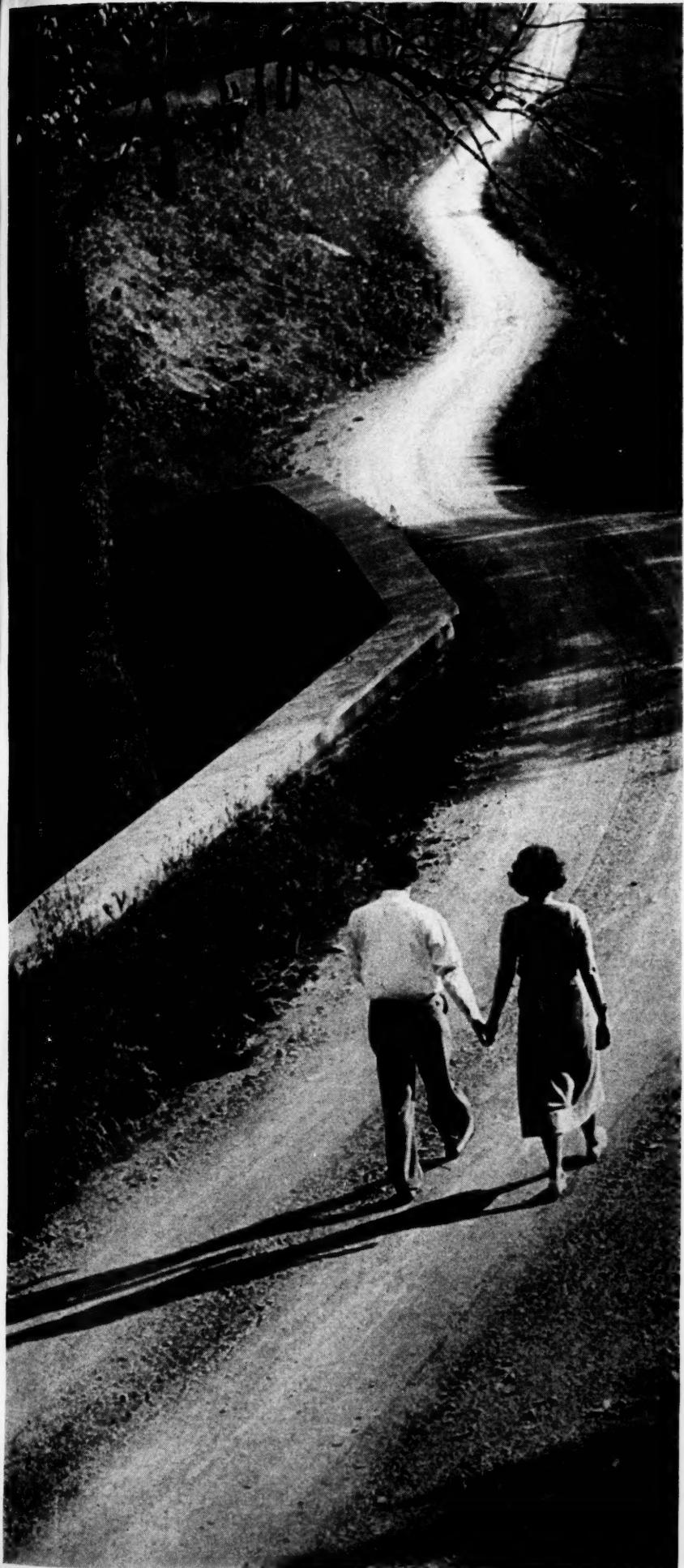
Even now the driver approaching a railroad crossing is protected by

bells, signs, lights, gates or other highway warnings, and the huge federal appropriation of \$400,000,000 earmarked in the Work Relief Act for the elimination of railroad grade crossings will practically wipe out this driving hazard. If the project is completely successful it will result (using 1935 figures) in reducing the motor vehicle death toll from 36,100 to 34,660, and the injured list from 895,280 to 890,800—hardly a major achievement.

Meantime our country population will continue to be menaced by the careless motorist to the tune of some 14,650 annually, killed or wounded—a roster of victims which could be wiped out altogether by the simple expedient of bordering all highways with some form of sidewalk.

In the past, on the rare occasions when this suggestion has been discussed, it has been set aside because of the "prohibitive cost". Careful estimates by engineers, however, indicate that waterproofed paths, three feet in width, can be constructed in their simplest form for an average of twelve cents per linear foot, or \$634 per mile. Allow \$366, or more than 50 per cent of the estimated cost, for extras in the form of occasional drains and unforeseen contingencies, and the average per mile is still only \$1,000.

In the light of such a cost factor what would an appropriation of \$400,000,000, the equivalent of the proposed grade-crossing program, accomplish? It takes the simplest sort of arithmetic to show that at \$1,000 per mile 400,000 miles of highway (or about 20 per cent more than the combined federal and state systems) could be made safe for "democracy"—that part of our citizenry which measures its mileage in foot power.



PHILIP D. GENDREAU

Actually \$200,000,000 would do about all that is reasonably necessary.

A pedestrian path program would not only protect the lives of men, women, and children, but would give widespread employment of a valuable character. At least twice as many men could be employed in such a project as in one devoted to grade-crossing elimination, and it would save twice as many lives. A maximum of unskilled labor could be assured in loosening the soil with picks, this to be followed by disc-harrowing both before and after applying the waterproofing medium. Rolling by hand would adequately compact the mixture. Where funds permitted, a surface treatment of sand or stone chips would add to the quality of the job, while a paved sidewalk could be provided where conditions warrant.

The possibilities of this form of safety were effectively demonstrated more than thirty years ago by the League of American Wheelmen in providing large mileages of bicycle paths. True, those paths were not constructed for all-weather use; but with waterproofing materials in several competitive groups now adaptable to mixing with the soil to a depth of four or five inches, a dry footing can be provided in all seasons.

The reaction of an average citizen to a proposal to protect the helpless is instinctively an eager approval, especially when the victims are women and children. Why not protect the helpless forgotten pedestrian, and the reckless driver as well? The mounting total of fatalities makes one wonder why some of the effort expended in raking up leaves might not be profitably diverted to life saving path construction.

While life-saving would be the primary purpose of a sidewalk construction program, there would be incidental benefits. Fewer cases of wet feet and therefore fewer colds, less soiled and spattered clothing, greater peace of mind for mothers as their youngsters trudge to school, and less strain upon conscientious drivers.

Everybody but the pedestrian is organized to death—the pedestrian is unorganized to death. He is the prey of the man on wheels. We have Mother's Day and Apple Week, and all the days and slogans and clubs which a highly gregarious nation can devise. Why not a Pedestrian Day, and give the walkers twenty-four hours of safety anyhow!

Walking along the highway resulted in sudden death last year to 3000 persons

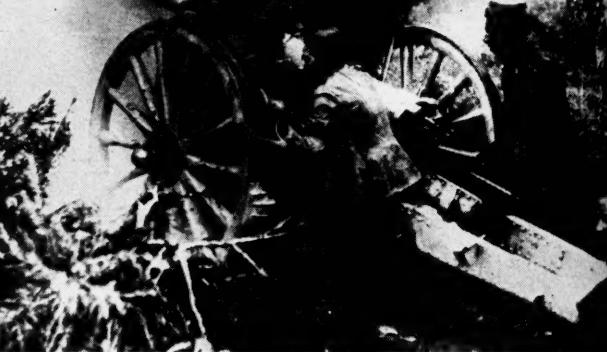
HELL OVER SPAIN



PICTURES, INC.

Fascist volunteers from Aragon, religious peasants (left). Such are the "diehard" backbone. Liberal artillery regulars defend Madrid (above) as they fire a field-piece. One of many Joan of Arcs in the workers' militia, recruited in the capital (right)

SWIFT PHOTO



HERE IS THE MOST AUTHENTIC CIVIL WAR SINCE NORTH FOUGHT

THE CONFLICT that raged in Spain following the middle of July was a real war in the full sense of the word. It was the most clearly defined domestic conflict since the American Civil War of 1861-65, and like the American struggle it was waged by organized armies, competent generals, and scientific military weapons. Endless Chinese "wars" have been indefinite in objective and sloppy in execution, save for the Canton-Nanking march of 1926. But the fuss in Spain was far more of a campaign than Mussolini's road-building push into Ethiopia.

It was a curious fight with at least a dozen fronts of sorts. Each Spanish city served as a separate battle-ground, and there was a main fighting front north of Madrid in the Guadarrama mountain region. This unquestionably was the most important, for Madrid is the capital city and was mainspring of liberal government resistance to the diehard revolutionists. From Madrid the working people turned out for action, men and women, some in old-fashioned liberty caps, others in modern steel-helmets, with crowbars and with machine-guns.

In the northeast the liberal stronghold was the autonomous state of Catalonia, an industrial area whose

capital is smoky Barcelona. Catalans—who speak a sort of semi-French—are staterights people of a radical political hue. Barcelona is the headquarters of Spanish syndicalism. Syndicalists are very extreme trade-unionists who believe only in direct action, in strikes and sabotage, and *not* in parliaments, debates, and political action. They are not Marxian, and have little to do with the communists, who are weak in Spain.

The Spanish government under President Azana had been a very moderate liberal-labor affair, undertaking mild religious and agrarian reforms. Religious orders owned not only elaborate buildings and vast landed estates, but also mines, banks, and even railways. All such investments were tax-free. Meanwhile, large stretches of farming country were in the unproductive hands of absentee landlords styled grandees. Education had been largely in churchly hands, and Spain is notoriously under-educated.

The liberal government should have reformed much more ruthlessly, or not have reformed at all. It did just enough to stir up civil war, and not enough to render civil war impossible. Why diehard generals were permitted to stay on in the

Spanish army is yet a mystery, but the fact remains, and hence national suicide.

The Spanish revolution of 1931, that bloodless affair, was engineered by intellectuals, lesser business men, and laborites. It was a cross between the English reformation and the French revolution, directed as it was against the monopolistic church, the feudal monarchy, and the great landowners, whose sons and nephews were diehard army officers. The civil war of July and August was a counter-attack by these ousted elements, seeking to get back in. It was a battle between Reform and the Old Guard.

The war started in Africa, in Spanish Morocco where the army generals were strongly entrenched and comparatively free from governmental interference. Quickly it spread across the Mediterranean straits to Spain proper, where Seville became a diehard base of operations against the defiant liberal government.

In command on this southern front was General Francisco Franco, well known as a strict disciplinarian. In the north of Spain, based on the devout peasantry of Catholic Aragon and Old Castile, was General Emilio Mola. The two diehards were in com-



ACME

SOUTH BACK IN 1861

munication with each other, Franco acting as top-kick. His dashing brother has been air-attaché at Washington.

Most of the army was with the diehard revolutionists, but some sections of it were with the liberal government. Most of the state-police were on the liberal side, as were the organized and hard-hitting trade-unionists and the famous miners of the Asturias, lineal descendants of the nordic Visigoths. The sinister syndicalists, who disliked the liberal government, nevertheless preferred it to the diehards, and came to the

aid of the republic which they had harassed in time of peace. Most of the Spanish navy remained loyal to liberalism.

With the diehards were the priesthood, the deeply religious peasants of certain northern provinces, the aristocracy, and the vast majority of military officers. With the diehards were also the fascist youth leagues, not very numerous, the foreign legion, and most of the Moroccan tribesmen and tribal chieftains.

Franco himself has had republican sympathies, although of a diehard sort. He clung to the republican flag (red-yellow-purple) although some of his unruly followers have been flying the old monarchist red-yellow-red. Franco was no fascist in the technical sense, and said he merely opposed the graft and Marxism of the liberal regime. He professed no special love for the church and grandes, and said he favored the continuation of a conservative or authoritarian democracy. Many of his sub-leaders, however, have had other ideas, without a doubt.

The diehard generalissimo has wished to make Spain again a world power, as she was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when she ruled and ravaged from Holland to Peru.

As to the forces engaged, numerically, and the losses attendant on military operations, nobody knows—and guessing is futile.

On the international front there has been grave subdivision. The fascist countries, Germany and Italy, were in active sympathy with the diehards, sending them valuable warplanes and experienced instructors. Liberal France, under Leon Blum, was strongly pro-government, and many French citizens sneaked across the Pyrenees to fight for the liberal cause in Spain. England too inclined to the liberals, although she seems to have sold airplanes to both sides. Faraway Russia, ally of France, favored the liberals because of her

friendship for international labor.

Serious complications threatened because of this partisanship in the Spanish civil war. Historians remembered with dread the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), which involved most of Europe in its martian tentacles, and saw a "succession" parallel in the 1936 situation. France, really frightened, sponsored an international hands-off agreement to prevent any possible general war, for the philosophical basis of the Spanish strife aroused everybody one way or the other.

Whatever happened, Spain seemed bound to lose. If the diehards triumphed, there would be a military dictatorship in republican guise—South American stuff. If the liberals won out, they would doubtless be pushed aside by their really radical allies who are tricky fellows. As in Russia, Spain might leap straight from medieval feudalism to proletarian collectivism, without really learning the valuable lessons of the midstep, middle-class democracy.

The middle-class in Russia and Spain alike had been notably weak, as was its capitalism; and thus Karl Marx has been refuted by history. Highly industrialized England and Belgium were his pet objectives. They were "proper" fields for Marxism, and capitalist they have remained solidly. Meanwhile, let it be stressed that Third International propaganda, money-backed, is as dead as some of our own old-fashioned missionary societies.

Thus, to sum up in Spain, conservative republicans with feudal allies were fighting liberal republicans with proletarian allies. It is a pity that conservatives and liberals cannot debate in parliament in the British or American way, uniting to smack hard the savage extremists of both lunatic fringes.

The war atrocities wreaked on Spaniards by Spaniards in this year of grace seem to far outbelieve the alleged Belgian atrocities of 1914. Civil wars are always the dirtiest and most blood-thirsty. Americans north and south, naturally temperate and humane, found that out some seventy years ago.

The Spanish army, whose revolt has ruined the country, is a strange affair indeed. Under the monarchy it was a grafting state within a state, a bureaucracy with 163 generals and a commissioned officer to every half-dozen men. Half of these tin soldiers were cashiered by the highly anti-militaristic republic, hence their unrest.

Several units engaged in the 1936 civil war served with the Armada in 1588. Another was at Lepanto in 1571. One regiment was organized



INTERNATIONAL

Liberal firing-line of workers' militia in Guadarrama mountain-region

in 1509. These outfits are very traditional, but have been quite worthless as fight-machines since before 1700. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they contained the finest soldiers in the world. Today they can be outfought by home-made militiamen.

Now let us turn to other news.

ITALO-RUSSIA?

What of Italy, and will the East unite into a living wall against Herr Hitler?

SOME BELIEVE that there is a coming alliance or get-together. This—and it is highly important—would be between Italy and Russia. Were the two to band together, there would be a united front against German aspirations to the east, with Austria and Czechoslovakia supplying connecting links in a long chain.

Fascist Italy and communist Russia have ever been on excellent terms, paradoxically enough. Italy took no part in the Allied campaign against the Russian revolution, when England, France, and America were fighting the Bolsheviks. It has always been tacitly understood that Mussolini was to sock Italian reds while the Soviets socked Russian whites, but that in international politics the pair should pleasantly coöperate. There are no matters in dispute between the two governments, and at no point do their interests seem to clash. Italian macaroni is manufactured, in large part, from wheat shipped by that rich granary, the Russian Ukraine!

Mussolini's admiration for Soviet Russia is stressed in many of his writings, and he freely admits borrowings he has made from the land of Stalin. In some ways, believe it or not, Italian fascism is on better terms with Russian communism than with the kindred fascism of Hitler's Germany. Italian blackshirts have never been in any way anti-semitic, and anti-semitism is a keystone of German fascism. A possible understanding between Russia and Italy would be built upon geographical realities, not upon domestic philosophies.

Hitler menaces Austria, ally and protectorate of Italy. Hitler also threatens Czechoslovakia, ally and protectorate of Russia. Italy adjoins Austria, Austria adjoins Czechoslovakia, and Czechoslovakia is almost next to Russia. Austria is Germanic, and so is a rough quarter of Czechoslovakia, hence Hitler's ambition to annex 10 million German-speaking neighbors who live on Germany's eastern border. Italy is determined that he shall let Austria alone, and Russia has undertaken defense of



Oswald Pirow is a bright young man of the restless South African Union

the Czechoslovaks. In the last analysis, as against Germany, Italy fears for her own South Tyrol and city of Trieste, while Russia dreads a German drive against her vast Ukraine, with its 30 million inhabitants. Today France is Russia's ally, but France is singularly weak and ineffective. Italy, however, is strong and a good potential bet in Russian eyes.

Catholicism and fascism are sentimental links between Italy and Austria, while leftist tendencies and the Slavic race serve to unite Russia and Czechoslovakia. Austria and Czechoslovakia are themselves on good enough terms, while (as observed before) Italy and Russia have ever been friendly. Italy would be glad to have a joint guarantee from Russia in the matter of Aus-

trian independence. German annexation of Austria would place a northern colossus, armed to the teeth, on the Italian frontier.

Meanwhile, Russian economics have been moving gradually to the right, while Italian economics have jumped markedly to the left. They are fast approaching a "radical" middle-ground of tested efficiency. True it is that the Italian king has lately become an Imperator—real title of the old Russian czars—but what's in a name? Politics make strange bed-fellows, and some sort of Italo-Russian defensive pact is not beyond the realm of practicalities as Hitler's Germany hastens the completion of her new and powerful war-machine.

Handsome Adolf has recognized this threat, and hence his sudden "recognition" of Austrian independence, sincere or not, which makes for much better terms with the Italians and the Austro-Schuschnigg government now in office. He has also approached trembling Czechoslovakia, offering her a security pact in exchange for termination of her Russian alliance and a privileged semi-autonomous status for 3½ million Czechoslovak Germans. Italy may go into the German camp instead of the Russian one. It is all a gamble; and Mars is rattling his iron dice in the east of Europe.

IN SOUTH AFRICA

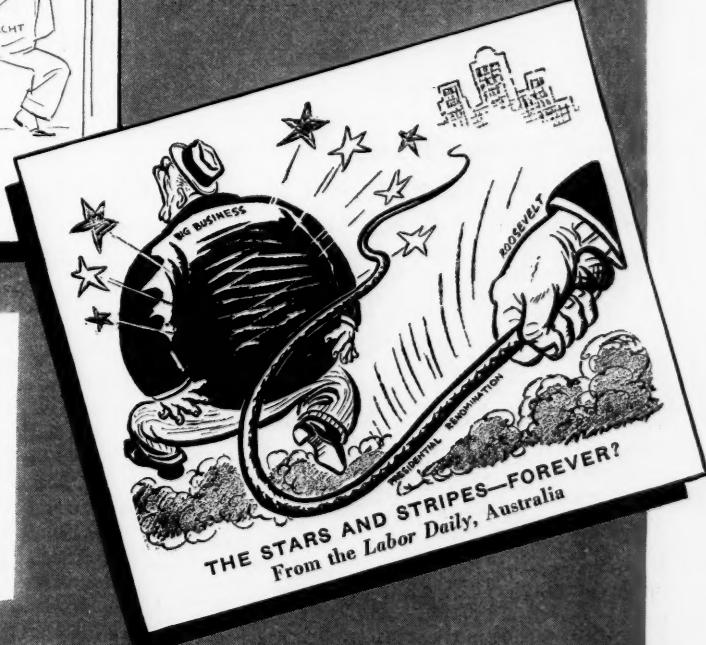
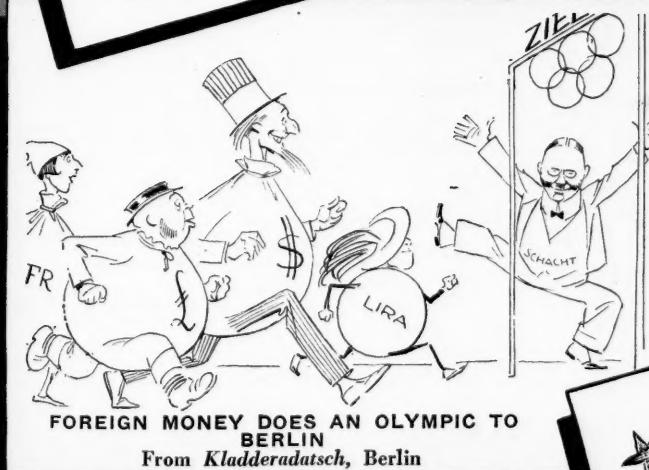
The South African Union is on the make as it bargains with the Mother Country

CONSIDER THE South African Union. Here is the third British dominion, with approximately 470,000 square miles of territory, 2 million white folks, and 6 million blacks. Its imperial status is second only to Canada and Australia, and it is possessed of a more strongly nationalistic spirit than either of the other two.

The white population of South Africa is divided between Dutch and British, or Boers and Anglos. Politically, the Dutch are more active; and their sentimental loyalty to England has ever been at a conspicuously low ebb. Annexed to England by the Boer War in 1900, they were formed into a proud federated dominion in 1910.

The two Boer republics had been Transvaal and Orange Free State, and to these were added Natal and Cape Colony, now the four South African provinces. But the Union is on the make, with a well-defined program of territorial aggrandizement.

The bright young man of South Africa today is a Boer named Oswald Pirow. He is war minister of the Union, and far more vital than Pre-



FOREIGN PEN POINTS

Spanish civil war, the Olympic Games at Berlin, and the coming election for President of the United States have been interesting most foreigners, while German and Russian cartoonists ceaselessly dig at one another

BEHIND THE FOREIGN NEWS

mier Hertzog and the old imperialist Smuts, South Africa's pair of elder statesmen. Pirow is no enthusiast in the matter of the British connection; but, tough, he believes in getting all he can out of worried John Bull. The catch is just this:

The Italian annexation of Ethiopia has strengthened Mussolini to such an extent along the Red Sea as to threaten the Suez trade-route to India, J. Bull's lifeline. Hence the route may be shifted down around the African horn, London to South African Capetown to Bombay. In other words, skirting three quarters of Africa instead of the other quarter as heretofore. Simonstown in South Africa may be heavily fortified and turned into a mighty British naval base, like Singapore in the Far East. This matter of re-routing makes the S. A. Union an important place and factor.

Within the Union there are enclaves for native tribesmen, now administered by the British Crown direct. These are Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. South African whites have never been notable for their humanity toward Negroes,

and the aborigines have felt themselves much better off under British civil servants than under dominion rule. Now the Union is to take over these three protectorates, and incorporate them, although there is considerable discrimination against colored voting and colored people in dominion politics.

In addition, there is German Southwest Africa, which was assigned to the Union as a colonial mandate in 1919. This will probably be admitted as a fifth province of South Africa, for its scanty German population is congenial to the Boers, and there has been Dutch and British immigration since the World War. German Southwest and Bechuanaland are sizeable chunks, and by these annexations the Union would double its area and occupy the entire bottom section of the African continent. Also, alas, the great preponderance of blacks over whites would be increased.

There yet remain Northern and Southern Rhodesia, both British, but their Anglo-inhabitants dislike the Boers of the South African Union and are in no hurry to join up. Eventually they may. There is also

Portuguese Mozambique, northeast of the Union and weakly held, but this is in the future. And there is a future for the South African Union. Its present is gold and diamonds, ranching, wheat, and cotton.

Pirow will back up England in exchange for the three native protectorates and a sympathetic attitude in the German Southwest matter. Previously he had announced that the Union would not help England in her wars. *Zuidafrika*, the Dutch name, is bilingual officially and has its own orange-white-blue tricolor. Even the British residents feel themselves Africans, and the race-struggle between Boers and British is lessening before the unifying power of the vast veldt. London-Capetown-Bombay may yet be an imperialist slogan of primary importance in world matters. The Union is bitterly anti-Italian.

Meanwhile, there is some analogy between the South African Union and the Southern Confederacy, had that white-over-black Jeffersonianism maintained an independent existence and only nominally emancipated its slaves.

or SO they say

ADOLPH HITLER: poor fellow

"I think I must be the only statesman in the world who doesn't possess a bank-account."

BOOTH TARKINGTON: suffers too much

"I cannot open a new book of mine without pain."

STANLEY BALDWIN: speaks for his party

"Our ultimate goal is the Kingdom of Heaven on earth."

J. EDGAR HOOVER: anti-kidnaper no. 1

"Politics is public enemy no. 1."

ERICH LUDENDORFF: old war hero

"The British enjoy little vitality, weakened as they are by Jewry, Christianity, free-masonry, and other occult superstitions."

THE GREAT SHAW: our G. B. S.

"I am a communist, but I don't like the way they are running it in Spain."

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE: headlines tell 'em

"Reich Clergy Warn Hitler He Does Not Outrank God."

JUDGE G. W. MAXEY: judges spondulix

"In all countries and in all ages idle money has meant idle men."

ADMIRAL SIMS: states alternatives

"Our country has a choice of profits or peace."

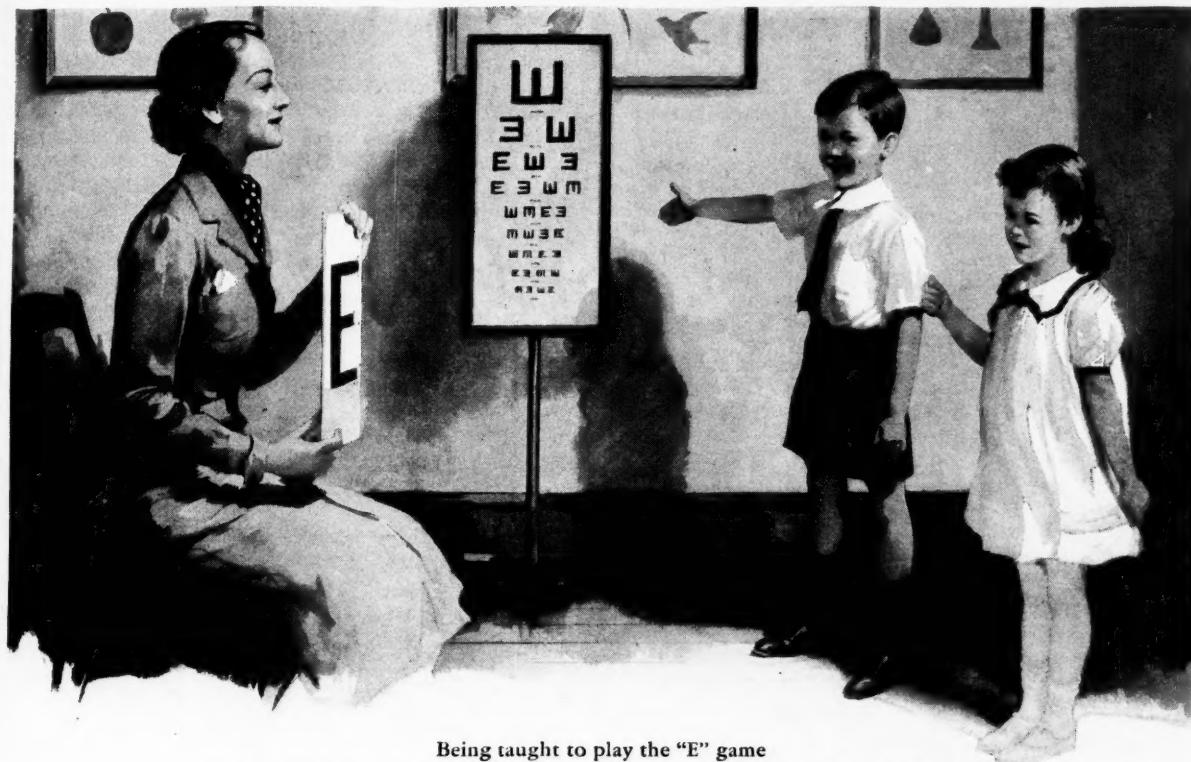
ELDER RICHARDS: a Mormon urges

"If it shall please the Lord to send to your home a goodly number of children, I hope, I pray, you will not deny them entrance."

PAUL YAWITZ: more than hints

"Many a man gets first news of his approaching parenthood through a Broadway column."

How Good Are Your Child's Eyes?



Being taught to play the "E" game

Children think of it as a good game and readily respond when asked to show which way the legs of the "funny little 'E' animal" point. Up, down or sidewise go their arms. In this way, boys and girls, before they know their letters, indicate fairly accurately how well they can see.

SCHOOL work means years of hard use for young eyes. Backwardness in school is frequently the result of defective eyesight. Before children go to school make sure their eyes are fit for study.

Modern eyesight tests are of great importance in demonstrating whether a child's eyes are fit to assume this strain. Many kindergartens are using the "E" Chart supplied by the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness to discover gross defects of vision.

Eye troubles are usually due to faults in the structure of the eye, to disease either in the eye or in other parts of the body, to some deficiency in the diet, to strain, or to improper use of the eyes. Eyes need special attention during and following serious illness.

Some visual defects may grow progressively worse if nothing is done to correct them. It is no use hoping that children will outgrow

"cross-eye." But corrective measures save thousands of boys and girls yearly from becoming permanently cross-eyed.

Astigmatism, farsightedness, or nearsightedness can usually be corrected by glasses. Diseases of the eyes require special medical treatment.

Food plays an essential part in keeping eyes healthy. Of special importance to the health of the eyes are foods which contain Vitamin A, such as cream, butter, milk and fish oils.

Take no chances with vision by trying to fit your child with glasses, or by relying on home treatment. Eyes are too precious. Consult a specialist. Attention to the eyes should always be a part of regular health examinations.

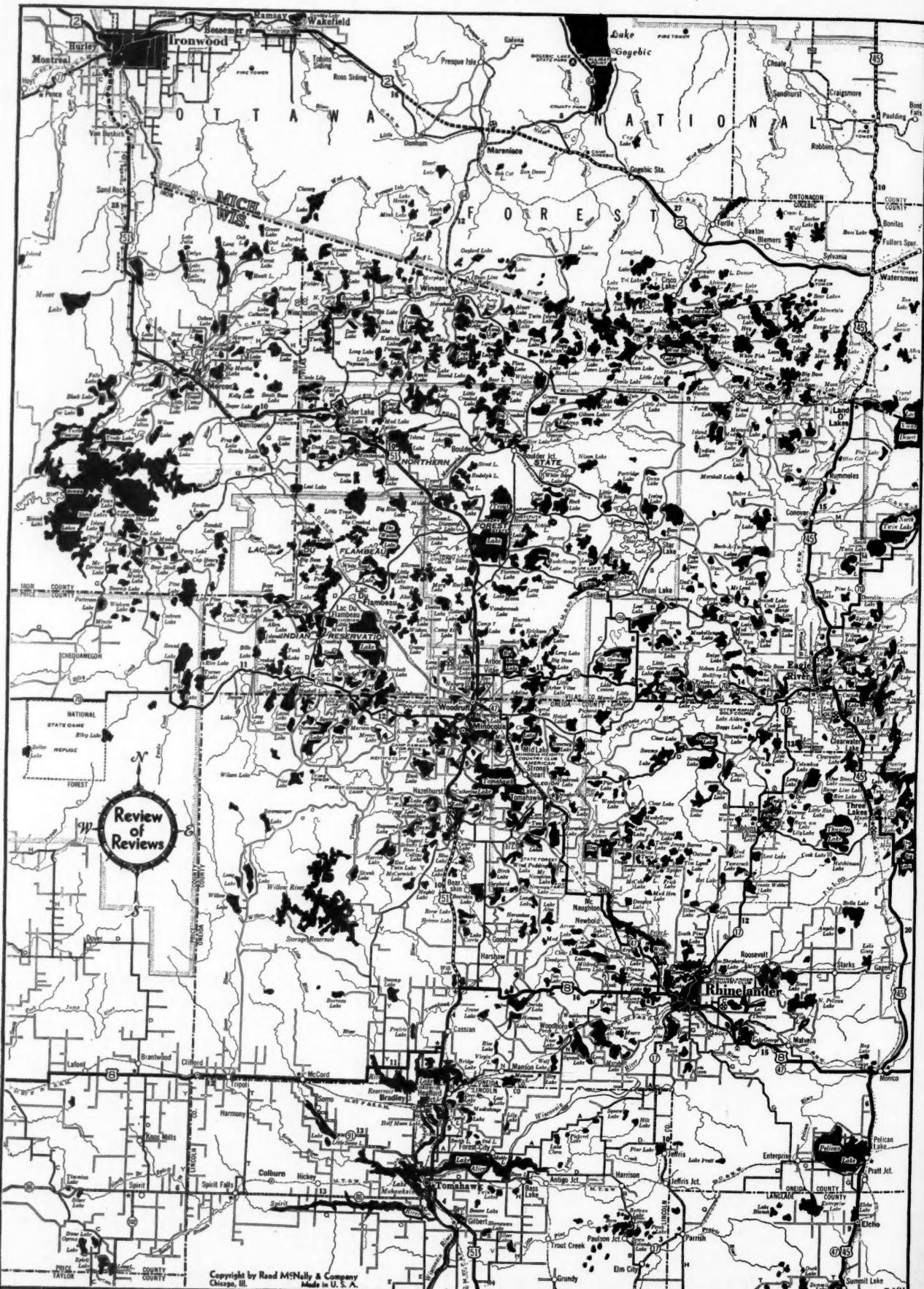
The Metropolitan will be glad to send you, free, a booklet, "Care of the Eyes." It contains valuable information that you should have. Address Booklet Department 936-V.



Keep Healthy—Be Examined Regularly

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FREDERICK H. ECKER, Chairman of the Board ~ ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. ~ LEROY A. LINCOLN, President
© 1936 M. L. I. CO.



SPORTSMAN'S PARADISE AND VACATIONLAND, "LAND OF LAKES", NORTHERN WISCONSIN

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SEP

IT'S NEITHER here nor there whether you have a "cousin in Milwoaky" because the fame of Wisconsin's welcome to her visitors in both personal and material senses is worldwide. And here and there throughout the Badger State nature has conspired to give qualities, resources and advantages to make it an ideal playground. Naturally, people work there, too.

However . . . you can take your choice—scenery, sport, relaxation, history, geography—you know the list. They're all in Wisconsin and in abundance.

For the auto enthusiast there is an aggregate of 80,000 miles of improved federal aid, state and county highways covering the 56,006 square miles area of the state, to say nothing of a supplementary highway system that gives access to the remoter spots. The road marking system is so easy as to make it a simple matter of "following the signs" to wherever you're going.

And most visitors to Wisconsin go fishing . . . and what fishing. The state proudly lays claim to the title of foremost fishing state in the country. And why not? There are 7,000 lakes and 10,000 miles of trout streams, all well stocked.

Then there's old Musky -- muskellunge, king of fresh water game fish. He reigns supreme in Wisconsin. All the area portrayed in the accompanying map, for instance, is in the primary muskellunge rating. This applies also to trout, bass, and wall-eyed pike for which the state is equally famous.

The finny tribes include, in addition to muskellunge, large and small mouth black bass, wall-eyed pike, northern pike, rainbow, brook and brown trout, and all varieties of pan fish, sunfish, perch, blue gills, crappies, rock bass and white bass.

Wisconsin's famous Conservation Department is playing a large part in the abundance of fish with its constructive program of fish propagation.

The "Land of Lakes" sector of the state pictured on the facing page embraces the primary fishing grounds of all the gamesters herein mentioned.

When you've got your maps, itinerary and whatnot all checked, and

then feel you might need some advice on bait or fly, just drop a line to either H. W. MacKenzie at the Wisconsin Tourist Bureau, or J. H. H. Alexander at the State of Wisconsin Conservation Department, both in Madison. What these two gentlemen don't know about minnow, frog or plug or fly, or what they can't find out for you isn't worth bothering about.

The state also abounds in wild life. Deer, black bear, wily fox, beaver, squirrel, cotton-tails, snow-shoe hares are numerous. Among the game birds are prairie chicken, ruffed grouse, Mongolian pheasant (introduced), Hungarian partridge (introduced) and in lesser degree quail; ducks include mallard, black mallard and teal, and canvasback, bluebill and redhead visitors; snipe, woodcock and loon and America's favorite bird, the eagle.

State parks and forests provide a public playground of 160,000 acres, including nineteen separate park areas. The parks are Interstate, 580 acres, containing one of the largest fish hatcheries in the world; Peninsula State, woodland, 3,400 acres; Devil's Lake, 1,400 acres; Nelson Dewey State, 1,671

acres, overlooking the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi; Perrot, bluffland, 1,050 acres, on the banks of the Mississippi . . . early day French explorers . . . historic; Patten, 1,140 acres, Big Manitou Falls



CHRYSLER CORPORATION PHOTO

HERE AND THERE BY CAR

(higher than the Canadian side of Niagara); Rib Mountain State, 280 acres, located on the highest geographically known point in the state; Potawatomi State, bluff and headland,

1,100 acres, at the junction of Green Bay and Sturgeon Bay; Terry Andrae State, beach park on Lake Michigan; Copper Falls State, 920 acres; Merrick State, 291 acres, on the Mississippi; historic and memorial parks—First Capitol State at Belmont, Cushing Memorial State, and Tower Hill State (where lead shot was made before the Civil War).

Four state-owned forests are Northern, 140,000 acres; Brule River, 3,991 acres; American Legion, 17,776 acres, and Flambeau River State, 2,961 acres.

If we've said nothing about camping, or canoeing, appetites and fine hotels and resorts, it's because they go without saying. The same goes for climate, although it is wise to make note that woolen clothing and sweaters are an important part in summer wardrobes in Wisconsin for the nights are usually cool.

Like archery, or shuffleboard? Golf, or sput-sputtering about in outboards? They're all there for the asking.

And in the last analysis don't forget that your filling station attendant en route throughout the state takes on the role of virtual guide for the locality in which he is situated.

Maps and road information for any section of the country, or any itinerary will be furnished on written request to:

Automobile Editor,
Review of Reviews,
233 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

THE PULSE OF BUSINESS

BUSINESS MEN, especially manufacturers and wholesalers, have been slow to realize that the Robinson-Patman Act passed in the last days of Congress and signed by the President on June 19 may be quite as serious for them as was N.R.A. Widely referred to as being an anti chain-store bill while under discussion, it takes its place on our statute books as price-regulating (though not price fixing) legislation applicable to all engaged in selling and buying.

It is a supplement to the Clayton Act of Woodrow Wilson's administration; and it is admirably brief, occupying not much more type space than a single page of this magazine. Here is the dynamite:

"It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce . . . to discriminate in price between different purchasers of commodities of like grade and quality . . . where the effect of such discrimination may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly . . ."

Differentials are permitted which make allowance for differences in

the cost of manufacture, sale, or delivery.

The Federal Trade Commission is empowered, after investigation and hearing, to fix quantity limits where it finds that purchasers in greater quantities are so few as to render differentials unjustly discriminatory.

But sellers are not to be prevented from selecting their own customers in bona fide transactions and not in restraint of trade. And price changes are permitted which reflect changing conditions affecting the marketability of goods—such as, but not limited to, actual or imminent deterioration of perishable goods, seasonal obsolescence, or discontinuance.

YOU MUST PROVE INNOCENCE

A novel provision is that which places the burden of justification upon the person charged with a violation. That is, only a *prima facie* case need be made out by the complainant, and the accused must thereupon prove his innocence.

Another novel provision makes the buyer equally guilty if he knowingly receives price discrimination.

It is unlawful to pay or receive anything of value as a commission, brokerage, or other compensation, or any allowance or discount, except for services rendered.

It is unlawful to pay for processing, handling, or offering for sale, unless such payment or consideration is available to all other customers.

All of the foregoing is Section 2 of the act. Section 3 is apparently a condensed restatement of much the same provisions, puzzling unless one knows that it was rival legislation (the Borah-Van Nuys bill) competing with the Robinson-Patman bill, and that the two were joined in toto by some Solomon as the way out of a dilemma in the last days of the congressional session.

Conviction carries a fine up to \$5000, or imprisonment up to one year, or both.

Section 4 briefly exempts the customary rebates of a coöperative association to its members.

Present-day discussion of the Constitution often goes behind that document and draws upon the debates of its framers. In similar fashion the Federal Trade Commission, charged with enforcing the new act and seeking a place to start, goes back to discussions of its sponsors in committee and on the floor of Congress.

For example, a mere committee witness offered this interpretation, which is incorporated in the commission's explanatory pamphlet: "A manufacturer has a unit cost of 80 cents, and a large buyer offers to take an additional million. With this added volume he will reduce his unit cost to 75 cents. That buyer could not, under this bill, be given that saving of 5 cents unless it were granted likewise to other customers."

DISCOUNTS DEPEND ON COSTS

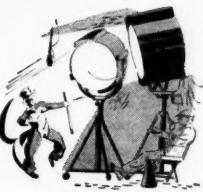
The following price differentials are permissible, according to Congressman Utterback, who had charge of the bill on the floor of the House: When one purchaser takes a single warehouse delivery, and another requires multiple store-door delivery; when one places a single order calling for periodic deliveries over an extended period of time, and another places smaller successive orders requiring more frequent salesman solicitation; when one customer orders for delivery in off seasons, while another requires spot deliveries during

GENERAL BUSINESS INDICES

AUG. 17 1935	WEIGHT FACTOR	JULY 25	AUG. 1	AUG. 8	AUG. 15
FINANCIAL ACTIVITY					
44 Stock Sales.....	2	32	37	37	35
117 Bond Sales.....	1	93	120	126	120
12 Money Rates	4	17	17	17	17
81 New Financing.....	2	70	76	92	65
48 Bank Debits, N. Y. C.....	4	51	47	48	49
43 Deposit Circ., N. Y. C.....	4	53	48	48	46
46	INDEX	17	46	47	49
					45
DISTRIBUTION					
74 Bank Debits outside N. Y. C.....	10	95	87	87	85
89 Deposit Circ., out. N. Y. C.....	10	102	99	101	99
68 Merchandise Carloadings.....	11	78	78	80	79
71	INDEX	31	91	88	89
					87
PRODUCTION					
63 Bituminous Coal.....	3	81	81	84	85
107 Crude Oil.....	3	114	116	117	121
57 Commodity Carloadings.....	8	75	75	77	76
79 Electric Power.....	7	130	129	129	129
66 Steel Production.....	9	108	105	102	99
68 Automobile Production.....	6	135	133	135	133
54 Construction Contracts.....	11	72	70	70	71
120 Cotton Consumption.....	5	159	168	170	174
75	INDEX	52	105	105	105
68.5 INDEX OF GENERAL BUSINESS	100	90.7	89.6	90.7	89.5

Weeks end with Saturday. Figures represent percentage of normal. Distribution items are based upon an average for the years 1926-31; new financing, automobile production, and cotton consumption, upon 1927-31; construction contracts upon 1928-32. All others use 1919-1931 normal. Carloadings and coal data are of previous week.

LIGHTING Hollywood's chief industry is just one of the many uses of the electrical energy that flows through seven of these giant transformers.



HEIRS OF A DISTINGUISHED LINE

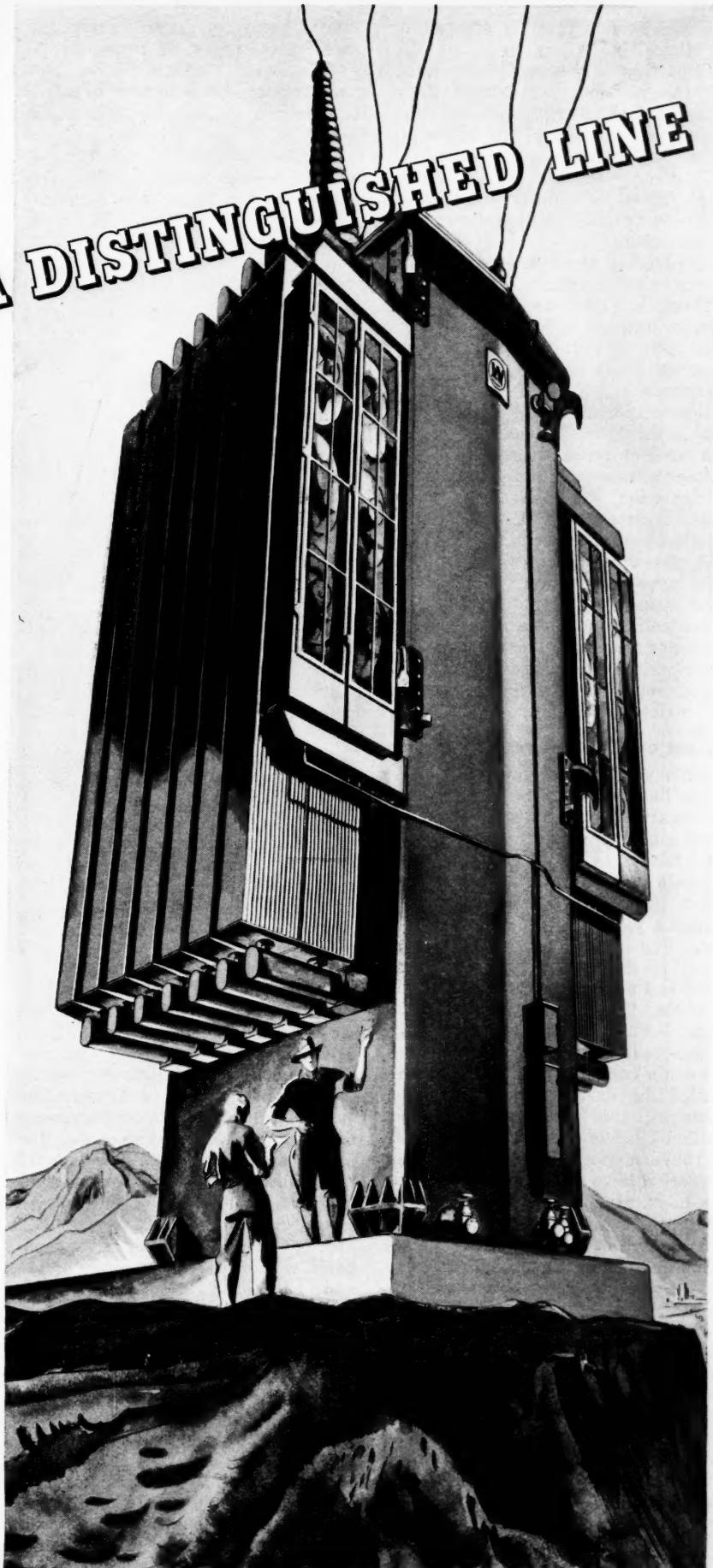
World's largest! Seven new single-phase power transformers...the largest ever built...stand at the receiving end of the Boulder Dam high-tension power line. Winding its serpentine course over 270 miles of blazing desert and mountain steep, this line carries current at 287,500 volts to the city of Los Angeles. There, that voltage is "stepped down" to 132,000 volts by means of these giant transformers...built by Westinghouse.

Each of them is equivalent in size to a pair of boxcars, standing on end, side by side. Each weighs 186 tons. Each has a rated capacity of 65,000 kv-a, with 80,000 kv-a possible to meet emergency peak demands of short duration.

Heirs of a distinguished line of power transformers, these latest marvels hark back to the first commercially successful transformer built and patented by Westinghouse in 1886. That contribution was the essential factor in the development of alternating current; formed the basis for cheap and efficient transmission of electrical energy. But it is only one of a long list of "firsts" in the evolution of electrical progress, over 50 years, which bear the Westinghouse autograph. Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.



50 YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT



the rush season possibly compelling overtime labor.

"But the bill," says Congressman Utterback, "does not permit price differentials merely because the quantities purchased are different, or merely because the methods of selling or delivery are different. There must be a difference in cost resulting from the different methods or quantities."

Apparently manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers must install systems of cost accounting sufficiently accurate and detailed to keep them out of jail. The accused, remember, must be able to prove his innocence.

Some students of the new law say that it will fall of its own weight. At the other extreme is the opinion of a former member of the Federal Trade Commission, Nelson B. Gaskill, who goes so far as to say that mass production in highly specialized centers will give way to small factories, and that mass distribution will disappear with mass production. There will be decentralization and a relocation of factories in regional production and distribution areas. He qualifies those statements with an "if" related to the strictness of enforcement.

FAILURE OF OUR CORN CROP

This year's drought in the corn-fields has proved to be fully as disastrous to the nation's largest crop as the early reports had suggested. There will be 1,000,000,000 fewer bushels of corn than in an average good year. The Government estimates a yield of 1,439,135,000 bushels. For more than thirty years prior to the 1934 drought the corn crop had never fallen below 2 billion bushels. The five-year average had exceeded 2½ billion.

At the average price per bushel of 58 cents on the farm, that had prevailed in early June before the drought, this disappearance of a billion bushels of corn means a loss to the farmer of \$580,000,000 whether he would have sold the corn or fed it to hogs. In Iowa, champion corn state, the condition on August 1 was 37 per cent of what the Government fixes as normal. In Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas it was 20 per cent or less.

Taking Iowa as an example, the corn crop this year will be 185 million bushels instead of an average of 438 million. This shrinkage of 253 million bushels, at our earlier price-on-the-farm of 58 cents, means a shrinkage of 147 million dollars in value of this year's crop for Iowa farmers alone. Business men and investors have such facts in mind, about the corn belt, when making fall plans.

True, scarcity skyrocketed the price of corn—by as much as 50 cents a bushel in ten weeks. But many farmers have no corn to sell—if, indeed, they will be able to fill their silos or feed their hogs.

As usual in respect to short crops, it is the consumer who pays. The cost of food is rising and expected to go still higher; and food represents 30 per cent of the whole cost of living. Note the march of food prices upward:

	Aug. 15 1936	June 1 1936	Aug. 15 1935
Corn (bu.)	1.26	.76	.97
Wheat (bu.)	1.27	1.07	.97
Flour (bbl.)	7.65	6.00	7.85
Butter (lb.)	.36	.272	.245
Lard (lb.)	.125	.097	.18
Pork (lb.)	.155	.15	.175
Beef (lb.)	.077	.077	.12

The figures we use are wholesale prices at New York. Note that the price of beef (as well as pork and lard) remains low. There had been increased slaughtering of cattle even before the drought, which had kept the price down, and scarcity of forage and feed are bringing further supplies to market. The effect of drought on the price of beef will come next year, rather than this; for the farmer will have less winter feed in his barns and silos and will carry over fewer animals.

More than anything else, this second drought in three crop years has taught the farmer—and possibly the brain-truster—that man cannot regulate nature. All plants for wheat and corn restriction are likely to be thrown overboard as the farmer plants for next year.

Meanwhile the cotton farmer is sitting pretty in comparison. He will harvest nearly two million more bales than last year (12½ million, as against 10 2/3 million), and at the prevailing price of 12 cents he will get almost a full cent a pound more for it. Roughly speaking, the cotton crop may yield upwards of 750 million dollars at \$60 a bale.

Most striking is the increase in cotton yield per acre. This year will average 200 pounds per acre, compared with a ten-year average of 170 and the old rule-of-thumb that counted upon a third of a bale per acre, or 167 pounds. The cotton planter has been accepting Government benefit payments for reduced acreage, and at the same time—quite naturally—striving hard to increase his yield per acre. Weather is of course the principal factor, with parasites next; so perhaps we should credit nature with the good cotton crop as well as blame her for lower corn and wheat harvests.

In spite of drought which deflates

the farmer's pocketbook in large sections of the country; in spite of threat of labor trouble in the great steel industry; in spite of rising taxes that discourage enterprise; in spite of the uncertainty of a political campaign at home and armed conflict abroad, our index of general business holds its head high.

BUSINESS AT 90 PER CENT

As regular readers well know, this index (page 64) has three main parts. Financial activity remains at less than half of normal, largely reflecting the low earning power of money and partial stagnation in the stock market. For both situations the Administration will cheerfully take full credit.

But this division of our index, though it includes more than one-third the aggregate number of items, receives only one-sixth of the weight value. A second group we call "distribution"; and this has of late advanced to approximately 90 per cent of normal.

Weighted more heavily than both those groups combined, is a series of eight items that measure current production. Their average since the first week in July has exceeded normal. Far in the lead is the item of cotton consumption.

The Census Bureau estimates that during the twelve months ended on July 31 the domestic consumption of cotton was 6,348,000 bales, compared with 5,360,000 in the preceding year. Exports for the twelve months were 5,972,000 bales, compared with 4,798,000 in the very bad twelve months preceding. To our own manufacturers and to foreign buyers the South had thus gotten rid of two million bales of cotton in excess of the preceding year.

Second in high honors among our production group has been the automobile. In August, however, nearly half of the factories (including Ford) were closing down in preparation for new models. The automobile show comes this year in November. For the first seven months of 1936 the industry produced 3,000,000 cars, according to Cram's Reports, compared with 2,675,000 in the same months of 1935. It was a 10 per cent gain over a very good year.

Third honors in this production part of our index goes to electric power, which has been averaging 2 billion kilowatt hours per week as against 1.8 billion in the same weeks of 1935. Never before was so much electric energy consumed. In fourth place is the production of crude oil.

Honorable mention, for the best showing in improved status, goes to our item of construction contracts awarded—about which more anon.



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READING AROUND THE WORLD

Power in the Pacific

HECTOR C. BYWATER IN *Pacific Affairs*

TO STUDENTS of war, the physical conditions likely to govern an armed conflict in the Pacific present a fascinating field for exploration. At the outset we are confronted by an arena so vast as almost to defy conception. In the case of an American-Japanese struggle, the war zone would extend north to south from the Bering Sea to the Equator and east to west from Panama to the Yellow Sea. Intermediate bases are few and far between. On the direct route from Honolulu to Tokyo, some 3,400 miles, there is not a single United States base capable of supplying the simplest needs of a battle fleet.

In the hypothetical case of a war between the United States and Japan, if it is assumed that the United States would seek to force a decision by bringing its armed strength to bear against Japan, the problem would be one of concentrating American sea, air and land power in the decisive zone—that is, the Western Pacific. It is in the last degree improbable that Japan would undertake any large offensive against the American mainland or even Hawaii. To do so would be to dissipate its forces and play right into American hands. With all the advantages of a position ideal for waging an offensive-defensive campaign in its own waters, Japan would be mad to attempt any big stroke across the Pacific.

If there were no such thing as public opinion the American high command, facing war with Japan, might confine itself to a purely defensive plan of strategy in the Eastern Pacific. The United States Navy as at present constituted, and still more as it will be organized when current building programs have matured, would have no difficulty in guarding all American territories other than the Philippines and Guam from serious attack. Isolated Japanese raiders, whether submarine or surface, might penetrate the cordon from time to time, but they could not inflict really vital damage. American trade with the Far East would remain in abeyance for the duration of the war, but the United States could afford this loss far better than Japan could endure the collapse of its trans-Pacific commerce, which is an exceedingly important item in the Japanese commercial budget.

Public opinion, however, molded by the popular press, is apt to take a hand in modern war strategy. This introduces the psychological factor which also plays a definite part in modern warfare. In the event of a war prolonged for months without decisive victories for either side, the strain on the civilian populations would be very great, and would severely test their ability to bear stolidly the mental and financial strain inevitable in a war of such significance. This would be reflected in a strain on the prestige of the men at the head of affairs, and on the conduct of the newspapers. Neither America nor Japan has yet undergone the test

of a modern war, with victory long deferred and uncertain. The modern wars of both countries have been comparatively short, and have been made easier to endure by the encouragement of early preliminary successes. The truth is that Japan has never yet faced an enemy of the first class; the Russian army of 1904-05 was not in first-class fighting order. In this respect there would be perhaps a certain psychological advantage on the American side. In America, on the other hand, owing to the democratic tradition of impatience and of demanding results from statesmen, a popular demand for "action" might arise, after a few months of stalemate in the Pacific, causing the political heads of the nation to order expeditions which the strategists would be forced to organize against their own better judgment. Reverses, defeats, perhaps disasters might follow, with repetitions of the Dardanelles campaign under infinitely greater difficulties.

If the United States is really determined to intervene in the Far East in defense of the Open Door or on idealistic grounds, it must obviously be prepared to reshape its armament policy on lines very different from those which it is now pursuing. Not only must the navy be reinforced much more heavily than Washington Treaty obligations allow, but naval bases in the Western Pacific must be established without delay. In the meantime, all those who are interested in Pacific strategy may well be urged to study large maps and to acquaint themselves, however slightly, with what naval officers call "logistics," which may be defined as the material elements of naval warfare—the cruising range of various types of ships, problems of fuel, provision and ammunition supply and so forth. This suggestion is offered with all due diffidence, but I venture to think that if it were followed there would be fewer fantastic forecasts of the course of a war between the United States and Japan, and, consequently, less "war talk," not only in Japan and America but in other countries.

Armenians

A. O. SARKISSIAN IN *Contemporary Review*

HAPPY the nation that can boast of a quiet and unmolested prosperity in constant progress for any length of time, for such a thing in modern history is rare indeed, a kind of *lusus historicae*. Even so, the course of the history of any national group in recent times has been relatively calm and prosperous and, in some respects, progressive when compared with that of the Armenian people.

If the history of other peoples shows some lapses and aberrations from the norm ideally pictured by the utopian philosopher, the history of the Armenian people shows sudden and abrupt breaks; if the history of others is often separated from the past by a wide gap, theirs is cut off by an impassable chasm; if the chron-

icles of other nations are marked by hardships and turmoils, theirs is literally replete with terrors and tragedies.

Perhaps no single term is so fit to describe the general character of their history as the one closely associated with the Armenians: massacres. In that word may be summed up their history for the period of about twenty-five years, beginning in the mid-nineties of the last century.

Many are the causes that have darkened the recent history of this people with an unbroken chain of misfortunes and miseries, of tragedies and calamities. These may be grouped under four headings and examined in the order named: the government of the Ottoman sultans; the diplomacy of the Powers; the country in which the Armenians lived; and, lastly (and this is of more importance than has been deemed by many observers and commentators), the peculiar national characteristics of the Armenian people.

In a world distracted and among peoples disconcerted, the Armenian refugee is a despairing soul in a class by himself. The Greek refugees were received in their historic homeland and taken care of by the Greek Government. The Jewish refugees are being settled in Palestine and elsewhere. Even the Assyrians, who only recently shared a sad fate at the hands of the Iraqi Arabs, are at last about to be provided with a homeland on the Khabur River in Syria, with the financial aid of Britain, Iraq, and the League of Nations.

But the Armenian is left in the cold, and the dark cloud hovering over his head is getting thicker. Until recently he was a ready victim of political nationalism; now he has been caught in the grip of economic nationalism. And the labour legislation enacted in some of the countries where he has found a shelter has caught him between two fires. No place to go, no work to do. In the midst of diplomatic crises the League has not been able to lend an ear to the pleas and petitions presented on his behalf. The fate of some 55,000 in France, 40,000 in Greece, 25,000 in Bulgaria, 20,000 in Roumania, 130,000 in Syria, 25,000 in Egypt, besides the 50,000 or more who are held in involuntary servitude in Turkey since 1915, is hardly better now than it was during the War years. To use the words of Carlyle, there seems to be for them "no help on earth, and, in an age of no miracles, no help from Heaven." Sad indeed is such a fate, and sadder the future outlook.

The New Italian Empire

SERGIO PANZIO IN *Italian Chamber of Deputies*

THE EMPIRE is reborn and will give a spiritual equilibrium to all countries, continents, peoples, races and classes who will derive from it inspiration, law and an understanding of the meaning of their existence. Here are the roots of that contemporary phenomenon, both political and social, which is understood by the term: "the universality of Fascism."

The old order is dead or dying. The new international order, which is not and must not be European, but world-wide, must be fascist and Roman. Internationalism of the Geneva type, which was bound up with the universality of the League of Nations, has failed.

The Empire which was born on May 9 is not the old type inspired by the old mentality, the old philosophy. We have outgrown the old idea of capitalist colonisation, rapacious, bloody and money grubbing. The old songs

of British colonial imperialism are not for us who sing the songs of Virgil and Horace. The social, historical and imperial philosophy of Mussolini is not colonial and capitalistic like that of Kipling. Not force for the sake of force, but force for the sake of justice and the subjection of Ethiopian people to save and protect them, not for their destruction and their exploitation.

The fascist state, thanks to its own structure as a corporate state, has not only the administrative machinery but also the ability and the energy needed for development of new territories. It is ready and determined to prevent exploitation by filibustering and raiding white capitalists and greedy speculators of the old type. The fascist state not only does not imprison, does not punish, does not pursue vendettas against the local population, but once the chiefs are driven out or have submitted, the state frees and educates the natives, giving them their share in the administration and in the benefits of the fascist revolution.

This is not the moment for diplomacy. History is being made and we are its masters. The empire has been founded and as a result any fear of the crumbling of western civilisation is at an end.

What Do We Owe?

H. PARKER WILLIS IN *The Forum*

THE OPENING of a new fiscal year on July 1, with a public debt which had reached an all-time peak with an aggregate near \$34,000,000,000, has naturally attracted the attention of the public to the question of Treasury conditions. Secretary Morgenthau, in his annual statement, is inclined to treat the great growth in debt rather lightly, pointing out that a very substantial percentage of the increase in new debt since the opening of the present administration has been the result of loans for which the various governmental agencies have claims upon those who have borrowed the funds, the result being a corresponding lessening of the true total of obligations.

Indeed in Secretary Morgenthau's annual statement, while he places the aggregate debt at \$33,750,000,000, an increase of about \$18,000,000,000 since President Roosevelt took office, he is disposed to claim an offset of about \$8,750,000,000, composed of \$2,750,000,000 balance in the Treasury fund, the stabilization fund amounting to \$2,000,000,000, and at least \$4,000,000,000 loans which it is assumed will eventually be collected. There is another side to this offset question, due to the fact that the government itself has guaranteed outstanding bonds which are reported in the Federal Reserve Bulletin each month and now aggregate a total upwards of \$5,000,000,000, which, of course, must be added to the total for which the government is eventually liable.

Its actual debt, then, would seem to be in the neighborhood of \$34,000,000,000, with a contingent liability of \$5,000,000,000 additional, making nearly \$39,000,000,000; while the government has on hand in the "general fund" \$2,700,000,000 plus the stabilization fund of \$2,000,000,000. Making these deductions of \$4,700,000,000, we should have left an outstanding debt of about \$34,300,000,000. The miscellaneous assets which are counted by Mr. Morgenthau as possible or probable reductions in liability, resulting from collections, will eventually produce something. Judging from the experience thus far had with the government's claims

against borrowers in the way of necessary renewals, it would seem that the actual collections eventually realized would be a comparatively small percentage of the total. However this may be, it is admitted by all that most of whatever is collected will come in only after a great while; the same considerations which led to the lending of it in the first place proving influential in bringing about renewals or extensions. On the other hand the meeting of the principal and interest upon guaranteed obligations, when these fall due and are not otherwise met, is unavoidable, as a matter of the sustaining of public credit. The obligations which have thus been incurred on a contingent basis present a kind of liability which is constantly developing into some draft upon the ability of the government to pay; while the stabilization fund and the general fund of the Treasury are, of course, unproductive and merely represent working funds that are theoretically available. From all practical standpoints, therefore, the actual burden of the existing debt at the present time must be regarded as equivalent to an amount substantially more than the \$33,750,000,000 definitely recognized. If we say that at the present moment the government is actually carrying a load of about \$35,000,000,000 of indebtedness, we shall be putting it conservatively.

Modern Athens

SIR CHARLES PETRIE IN *Cornhill Magazine*

CHANGE is the dominant note of the Greek capital at the present time. The old Athens of pre-war days is in process of being transformed out of all recognition as a result of the arrival in Greece of twelve hundred thousand refugees from Asia Minor, most of whom, being townsfolk, have settled in Attica in order to be near the largest centre of population in the country.

A hundred years ago Athens contained a few tens of thousands of inhabitants; at the beginning of the century there were about a hundred thousand; and to-day there are more than half a million. These figures should be in the mind of every visitor as his boat draws alongside the quay at the Piraeus, or when his train pulls up in the station, for they will prepare him for what he is going to find. He will see change, but assuredly not decay, on every hand.

As one drives from the Piraeus many an eyesore mars the prospect, though when the magnitude of the refugee problem is taken into account—the absorption of 1,200,000 immigrants by a nation of only 6,000,000—a few errors in town-planning are the more easily forgiven. To-day it is hardly possible to tell where Athens ends and the Piraeus begins, for the buildings are uninterrupted by any stretch of open country, and the port claims to be the third in size in the Mediterranean.

Such an influx of fresh inhabitants would in itself be sufficient to account for profound social changes, but there has also been a long period of political upheaval. During the last twenty years Greece has known three kings, two dictators, one republic, and revolutions and *coup d'état*, successful and unsuccessful, without number. Nevertheless, the foreigner will be surprised at how little, not at how much, effect these events have had upon the life of the ordinary Greek, though it would be absurd to claim that they have left so politically-minded an individual unmoved. His final reaction has been one of disgust with those who would not let him get on with his work uninterrupted, and it

is this feeling which brought about the return of King George II to his throne last November.

No account of Athenian life would be complete without some reference to the great monuments of antiquity that are so prominent a feature. With the Parthenon ever before his eyes, the least romantic citizen cannot but be conscious of his glorious heritage. At the foot of the Acropolis the various schools of archaeology are beginning to excavate a large area which they believe will yield important results. This will involve the demolition of what is left of Turkish Athens, and there are some who frankly deplore the destruction of the old buildings of one period for the sake of the ruins of another.

The problem has arisen in the same form in Rome, and not all the glories of the Via del Impero and the Imperial *fori* have reconciled many Romans to the disappearance of the narrow streets which were so characteristic of their city in Papal days. So it is in Athens, and the excavators are to have their way. Nor is it easy to put the other side of the case, for there are not many Greeks who wish to perpetuate the memory of the barbarians who used the Parthenon as an arsenal, and the Erechtheum as a latrine.

One leaves Athens and Attica with the feeling that they will not much longer remain as they are. Progress has already marked Greece for its own, and the first steps in its conquest are even now visible in the capital. A few years, if all goes well, will see perfect roads, first-class hotels in the most remote districts, and the disappearance of all that recalls the day when the Crescent still waved over Attica. When that time comes the traveller who has seen Greece as she is now will have a delightful memory that none can take from him.

Facing the Deficit

ROBERT MURRAY HAIG IN *The Yale Review*

EVERYONE, presumably, will agree that the federal budget in some way must presently be balanced. What are the potential resources of the revenue system for achieving a balance? What kinds' and rates of taxation are to be anticipated? To an increasing extent in the months to come, these questions will plague the minds of thoughtful citizens. The tax burden in prospect exercises an important influence on the calculations of business men as they consider whether or not they shall undertake the enterprises upon which further recovery so largely depends. Control of expenditure cannot be attained too soon if it be true that the deficits have already reached a point where a budget balance cannot be attained by a tax programme that will be "satisfactory." Obviously, it is high time that the taxation implications of the deficit be analyzed in realistic terms.

The character and proportions of a taxation programme are profoundly conditioned by the amount to be raised and by the economic situation of the country. At the present juncture these two factors interlock in a very interesting fashion. If business improves, it will be both easier to produce tax revenue and less necessary to raise it, because federal expenditures to relieve the unemployed should decline. If, however, business does not improve but rather recedes, not only will it be more difficult to raise tax revenues but it will also probably be necessary to raise more revenues to care for additional persons claiming relief. The tax prob-

lem, consequently, can be intelligently analyzed only on the basis of assumptions regarding the future course of the business recovery.

One hypothesis that must be considered is that we are moving into a period of rapidly rising prices and great business activity. Certain students of the banking and business situation confidently anticipate this. They point out that the policy followed in financing the deficit has set the stage for expansion, perhaps even for an inflationary boom of an explosive type. They doubt the efficacy of the measures available to control such a movement, and they doubt the political feasibility of a programme calling for the use of such measures as are available. They point to the enormous holdings of short-term government paper in the portfolios of the banks, bearing almost nominal rates of interest and ask what will happen when interest rates rise, as they believe such rates almost inevitably will.

The income tax has come to be regarded as the cornerstone of federal finance. In 1930 it produced 66% of the Treasury's tax revenue; but, with the contraction of the base during the depression and the introduction of such levies as the processing taxes, this percentage declined sharply, in spite of increased scales of rates. In 1935 it produced only 30% of the revenues.

If the budget is to be balanced largely by income taxation, it should be realized that the task is approached under a distinct handicap. In his book, "Deficits and Depressions," Mr. Dan T. Smith remarks that "a deficit results in a debt, and a debt results in a tax burden. The limit to a bearable debt is to be found in the limits to the tax burden." One of the most disturbing aspects of the Administration's taxation record is its failure to appreciate the character of the limitations which circumscribe the administration of taxes and thus indirectly limit government borrowing. This is particularly apparent in the modifications that have been made and proposed in the income tax and in the manner in which the Act has recently been administered. The income tax is essentially a "self-assessed" tax resting upon a detailed declaration of the taxpayer which the Treasury can hope to check only to a minor extent. Successful administration requires the active assistance, even the enthusiastic co-operation of the taxpayer. If this co-operation is to be secured, the levy must appeal to the taxpayer as a fair tax. When a levy that is dependent upon self-assessment comes to be generally regarded as inequitable, the administration tends to crumble. It is unable to withstand mass opposition, no matter how Draconian the legal penalties.

The more intelligent business men doubtless realize the serious difficulties involved in the demand for a balanced budget; were they vested with responsibility for federal financial policy, they would probably decide to seek a truly balanced budget, a few years hence, from the abundance of a business recovery. Indeed, unless the business recovery now under way continues to develop vigorously, a balanced budget will probably prove to be simply unattainable in the near future, and inflation will become inevitable. The demand for an immediate budget balance as an essential preliminary to further business recovery is probably somewhat disingenuous. This is really a symbol—a protest against waste and a plea for the elimination of unnecessary uncertainties. It is to be hoped that a rapid contraction of emergency expenditures will prove to be politically feasible after the election.

It is of the highest importance that everything possible be done, in both domestic affairs and foreign relations, to clarify and to make definite the conditions under which business men must plan to operate during the next decade. The situation is potentially dangerous. Some of its dangers, however, can be materially

minimized if the deficit problem can be approached not in terms of an oversimplified formula but with an adequate appreciation of the complications in the situation and of the tax implications in the proposal for an immediate balance. In any case, it is clear that the process of facing deficit will test severely both the economic capacity and the political maturity of the American people.

American Neutrality

R. A. MAC KAY AND R. L. STANFIELD IN

The Dalhousie Review

AS THE shadow of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute fell across America, the old fear of being drawn into a European war swept the United States. League protagonists hoped the United States would actively co-operate against Italy as it did against Japan, but experience during the Sino-Japanese dispute had apparently convinced Congress of the League's inability to prevent war. Moreover, East Africa was more remote than Manchuria from American interests. Accordingly, while League countries hurried their diplomats to Geneva, Congress prepared not to prevent the war, but to prevent it from involving the United States. The method adopted was a revision of the traditional American policy of neutrality.

Neutrality, although called by a term highly technical and controversial in international law, has a relatively simple purpose. This is twofold: in the first place, to isolate the contest, and secondly, to permit non-participating states to carry on normal relations with both sides, subject to the right of either belligerent to prevent by lawful means succour from reaching the other. While neutral states must neither help nor hinder either belligerent, they are not required to prevent their citizens from carrying on trade with either side. On the other hand, they must acquiesce in lawful interference with this trade by either belligerent.

The important rôle played by the United States in the development of the modern concept of neutrality has been due to fear of being entangled in foreign wars, and a desire to maintain trade with both belligerents. The United States provided the first clear definition of the obligations of neutrals in its Neutrality Act of 1794. American statesmen of the day believed, or at least hoped, that a strict observance of obligations would prevent their country from being drawn into the war then raging against revolutionary France. But the Act failed of its purpose. Interference by the British navy with American shipping inflamed American opinion and became the issue, though perhaps not the real cause, of the War of 1812.

In the American Civil War the rôles were reversed, the United States interfering with what Great Britain conceived to be her rights as a neutral trader. The early years of the Great War found the situation during the Napoleonic wars repeated, American trade being subjected to drastic interference by both belligerents. A more ruthless interference by Germany eventually consolidated American opinion towards participating on the Allied side.

The present attempt of the United States to keep out of possible European wars continues the policy begun in 1794 and repeated in 1914. Americans, however, are thoroughly aware of the ultimate failure on these two historic occasions.

Every naval war has re-opened afresh the conflict of

interests between neutrals and belligerents. This was especially so in the Great War, because of new methods of warfare introduced by new inventions such as the submarine, and because the war quickly became a war of economic exhaustion rather than a contest between professional armies and navies. At an early date the Allies closed off large areas of the high seas by mines or other devices to combat the menace of submarines, and extended the term "contraband" to include virtually all neutral trade going to enemy countries, either directly or through the territory of their neutral neighbours. Germany, in an effort to exploit the advantage of the submarine to the full, resorted to ruthless sinking of merchant shipping, neutral as well as Allied. American protests against these new interferences with neutral trade were summed up in the term "Freedom of the Seas". At the close of the war President Wilson endeavoured to secure recognition of the "Freedom of the Seas" by Great Britain and other naval Powers as part of the peace settlement. But the British Government was adamant. Through control of the seas the German war lords had been brought to their knees, as had Napoleon a century earlier. Great Britain was not prepared to give hostages to fortune by limiting her freedom of action in future naval wars by a wide definition of neutral rights of trade such as President Wilson encouraged in his doctrine of "Freedom of the Seas". Neutral rights at sea remained therefore undefined after the World War, just as they had remained after the Napoleonic wars.

When we recall the recent addition to the United States fighting forces, the attitude of one or two groups in the Senate, and the preference of the New York Chamber of Commerce for bigger armaments rather than meek neutrality, we are not justified in assuming that the United States has renounced the "Freedom of the Seas". The ghosts of 1914 still remain, though in perhaps more shadowy form, to trouble Anglo-American relations in any future naval war in which Great Britain happens to be involved.

The value of the new neutrality legislation as it stands is doubtful. It was inspired by an earnest desire to avoid war, but it is by no means clear that it will fulfil this purpose. It appears to have increased rather than diminished the uncertainty existing between Great Britain and the United States by leaving open the question of the freedom of the seas, and it appears to have weakened what remains of the collective system by refusing to recognize any distinction between aggressor states and states co-operating to preserve law and order.

too late for him to step out upon the speaker's stand illuminated with gasoline torches, and harangue the crowd of farmers who had driven across the prairies to hear him.

The campaign of '96 probably set the high-water mark of activity on the part of any one candidate. No one has equaled it since. Also it was the turning-point between the days of the personal campaign and that of modern mechanized politics.

It is important to note that in order to reach 4,800,000 people, Bryan delivered six hundred speeches—which purely from a physical point of view was a superhuman achievement. But there was one factor definitely in Bryan's favor. He could deliver virtually the same speech. And this he did, playing his limited repertory over and over again like a hurdy-gurdy grinder.

Two important chapters in Presidential campaigning have opened since then. One came with the development of the automobile; the other with the development of radio. The first increased the mobility of the campaigner's audiences, permitting them to come to him. The second increased the mobility of the campaigner, permitting him, through the simple expedient of turning the dials of a radio set, to come to them.

On the surface, this would appear to rid the Presidential campaign of all the physical torture Bryan imposed upon himself, turning it into a comparative holiday. Actually, this is not the case.

For while radio has added to the effectiveness of the campaigner,—if he is a good radio speaker,—it has also added to his labors. Unlike Bryan, he cannot repeat. President Roosevelt delivered about forty major speeches during the 1932 campaign; but instead of reaching the 4,800,000 people who heard Bryan's speeches, Roosevelt probably reached about sixty million or one-half the population of the United States. These forty speeches, however, had to be each a virgin effort. He could not repeat.

The present age of mechanized campaigning has brought other worries to Presidential aspirants, among them the problem of radio technique. This is an art absolutely essential to mechanized campaigning, and for the man who has spent his life haranguing the hustings, it is not easy to acquire. Roosevelt has it, in part naturally acquired, but also polished up through constantly hearing records of his broadcasts played back to him. When the President delivers a message to Congress, the members of that august assemblage complain that he "hugs" the microphone, and talks so low that they are scarcely able to hear him. But the President is merely using good radio technique. He has in mind the millions who are listening to him throughout the nation, and he does not want his voice to rasp in the microphone.

Radio also has brought greater care and preparation in the delivery of campaign speeches; for today one slip of the tongue is multiplied several million times, and may come back to haunt its author for months. The result is that the party brain trusts sit nervous and hawk-eyed, looking for any statement by their candidate or to their candidate likely to cause unfavorable reverberations.

But any candidate who relies solely on mechanization may be out of luck, especially in a Senatorial or Congressional election. For when you get away from the national arena, political campaigning gets right back to the old horse-and-buggy days. Of course, the candidate may promise jobs instead of passing out cigars. He may kiss babies instead of telling the coarse stories of fifty years ago. He may use electric flood-lights instead of the old torch-light processions. But fundamentally, nothing has changed. What really counts is the all-important ingredient of personal contact.

Political Techniques

DREW PEARSON AND ROBERT S. ALLEN IN *Redbook*

PROBABLY the most strenuous campaign ever waged by a candidate for President of the United States was that of William Jennings Bryan in 1896. In a period of three and one-half months, Bryan traveled 18,009 miles, spoke in twenty-five States and addressed 4,800,000 people. In order to do this, he went through a routine which would have sent a man of less robust health to his grave. He slept only three or four hours at a time, usually fully clothed on a cot in his campaign car, and left orders that he was to be awakened whenever a group wanted to see him. No country crossroads where a few hundred people were gathered was too insignificant for Bryan to visit, and no hour of the night was

Old-fashioned campaign methods still are important today even in a national election. The Senator who can swing a doubtful State, the boss who can bring in a big municipality, may mean the balance between national defeat and victory. In fact, present-day campaigning involves every trick of the trade, old and new, from back-thumping to Brain Trusting.

Crisis in China

T. S. YOUNG IN *China Weekly Review*

THE spectre of civil war has once again cast its long and black shadow over China—a country which until recently has been frequently referred to as a hotbed of civil wars. In spite of war denials and peace assurance given out by high officials on both sides, only a miracle can arrest the hand of Mars from striking his fatal blow. Can any patriotic Chinese watch these political developments without giving themselves over to despair?

At one time, it was supposed that alarming reports had been purposely manufactured by the party which had had a political axe to grind for the purpose of either discrediting China in the eyes of American and European countries, or inciting ill-feelings between Nanking and Canton, or diverting the attention of the world from North China to South China, or causing a panic to China's new currency system. But unfortunately for China and her people, what were branded as wilful rumors have turned out to be nothing but the truth, and the political firmament which appeared cloudless and clear has all of a sudden been dimmed by dark clouds, portending that a fierce storm is in the making.

That Nanking and Canton have professed no love toward each other is a fact which has been known to all. Mutual distrust has driven them to make feverish military preparations for an eventuality, which has long been feared to be inevitable. Peace emissaries have been indeed both assiduous and painstaking in exerting their efforts to bring about a rapprochement between the two factions, but they have not been able to make any improvement of the strained relations. The present political developments should not occasion any general surprise.

It is admitted that the foreign policy as pursued by the Central Government vis-a-vis Japanese aggressions is not above criticism. But allowance must be given to the weakness of its position because of its impossibility of forming and presenting a united front against a foreign

foe. Had the Southwestern leaders been able to meet the Nanking's overtures half-way and relinquish their independent attitude, China would not have been placed in such a low state as she is in today. As a divided country can not pursue a strong and definite policy, so China in the past has had no alternative but to drift onward aimlessly without having a definite course.

To make hollow bellicose gestures will not help the Central Government to resist foreign aggressions, but on the other hand, will only increase its embarrassment and difficulty in conducting the wrecked ship of state out of the stormy ocean.

The policy as pursued by the Southwestern leaders will force the Central Government into either a civil war or a foreign war. At present, China can not afford to have either. We shall still have the difficulty in safeguarding our national existence, even if we pull the will and the strength of the country together.

Outwitting Indigestion

E. V. McCOLLUM, Ph.D., Sc.D., IN *McCall's*

THERE ARE probably as many idiosyncrasies of digestion as there are people who suffer from them. But though we know our symptoms, we don't always know the causes. If indigestion bothers you, try to find out the root of the trouble.

Can it be your diet? Possibly, although indigestion is less often the fault of the food we eat than most people believe. A well-balanced diet, supplying a generous amount of the protective foods—milk, eggs, and leafy vegetables particularly—plenty of nourishment and plenty of bulk, should "set well" in any digestive tract, granted there is no inflamed or diseased condition requiring the attention of a doctor and a special dietary.

No; most heartburn, lump-in-throat, gas, logyness and the other accompaniments of poor digestion can be traced back—not to the unreasonable rebellion of our stomachs—but to our own nervous and emotional states, and even our mental attitude.

The digestive tract is threaded throughout with nerve connections, and will do a good job or a poor job according to the kind of nervous stimulation it receives.

Bring only the happiest subjects to the table. Leave your worries and anxieties somewhere else. And learn to laugh. Good humor is the greatest single aid to good digestion.

Spotlighting digestion is another frequent cause of trouble. The stomach and intestines, like the lungs and heart, have a predilection for privacy,

and will act up under too much attention. Confirmed dyspeptics who concentrate on their troubles, wondering whether their food will digest (and really expecting that it won't) are inviting with open arms the distress they seek to avoid.

Even worse, for them, than the discomfort of indigestion, is the inadequate nutrition that invariably results. The dyspeptic bans food after food from his diet, finally narrowing it so that properly balanced meals are impossible. At this point, some friendly doctor should take him in hand—and find some way to make him eat. If medical advice is needed, the physician will give it.

If you would have perfect digestion, and enjoy eating as it was meant to be enjoyed, start at the beginning—don't content yourself with trying to correct symptoms.

First, be sensible about your diet.

Second, keep the whole alimentary tract in a hygienic condition.

Third, get plenty of rest—and this means relaxation as well as sleep.

Fourth, exercise, too, if it is only a daily walk. And . . .

Fifth, watch your posture! Faulty ways of sitting or standing can so cramp your organs that they simply haven't the room to work, or are not in a position to empty promptly.

In other words, follow faithfully the rules for good healthy living, and the chances are that most of your digestive troubles will vanish into thin air.

Utility Regulation

H. O. WEAVER IN *Public Utilities*

THE argument of the advocates of government ownership and operation of public utilities is based on the assumed failure of regulation.

It is pertinent to ask, what has government to show as its warrant for expecting superior results to flow from its conduct of business enterprises?

Even when we come to those primary duties which we are obliged to entrust to government—such as police protection, law enforcement, administration of justice—does it perform even these with shining success? With most of us the verdict would undoubtedly be that its performance falls far short of perfection and often is less than acceptable. Until it shows greater competence in discharging those functions which must of necessity be committed to it, and for which it is naturally most fitted, it is presumptuous for it to demand and folly for the electorate to grant it power to conduct purely business undertakings, for which it has no natural fitness at all. This would be reversing

the parable of the talents and rewarding the unfaithful servant.

As has often been pointed out, government is organized for political purposes, industry for business purposes. Neither is qualified to take over the functions of the other. Indeed, the better each is organized to perform its own function, the less it is qualified to perform those of the other.

Regulation of some sort there must be, and the only agency to which we can intrust it is government. But if disaster is to be averted, some way must be found to halt regulation this side of the virtual absorption of the functions of management. It is not likely that the people of this country will favor the nationalization of either the railroads or the utilities as a matter of deliberate intention. The danger is that it may be brought about not by intention but by indirection—by regulation being pushed so far and made so onerous that government ownership becomes the only way out.

The only preventive is public opinion, which is still in a state of flux, though there are signs that it is beginning to crystallize against further extensions of government into the realm of private business. It may be that the government's far-flung operations in the Tennessee valley and elsewhere will be such an object lesson in the profligate waste of the taxpayers' money as to solidify public sentiment against further adventures of this sort; and if this should be the case they will be almost worth their cost. Attacks on the utilities would no longer pay political dividends; and when it ceases to be politically profitable to attack the utilities, the attacks will stop.

While the good sense of the American people may be relied upon to assert itself eventually in this as in other matters, time is of the essence and anything that will hasten the formation of a sound public opinion will by so much conserve the nation's most valuable asset—the spirit of independence, enterprise, and initiative of its citizens.

Border Issues

EDITORIAL IN *Manchuria Fortnightly*

JAPAN and Manchukuo have been perturbed over the increasing prevalence of border incidents. For instance between January 1 and March 15 of this year almost twice as many clashes took place as for the corresponding period for 1935. In addition a noteworthy feature of trespasses this year is in the large number of aeroplane violations of the frontier which have occurred.

The root of the whole trouble is in

the tremendous concentration of troops and armament which the Soviet Union has placed across the Manchukuo border, and which, despite urgings and pleas by the Japanese and Manchukuo governments, Moscow persists in keeping there.

A glance at the Soviet strength in troops and armament is self-revelatory. At the present time the Soviet Union can count on 1,300,000 men, and Moscow is attempting to raise this number to 1,600,000, while there are 4,000 military planes in the country. Of these about twenty percent are stationed in the vicinity of the Manchukuo border. In addition, the double tracking of the Siberian railway line is now complete and with the completion of the "BAM" railway the Soviet will be in a splendid position to rush troops rapidly to her eastern districts. There are now 200,000 Russian troops within immediate striking distance of Manchukuo.

Japan has asked time and again for Russia to withdraw the immense force she keeps packed behind the Manchukuo-Soviet frontier line so as to remove the tension, but all has been in vain. Thus there is only one thing to be done, which was decided upon some short while ago by the Central military authorities in Tokyo; which is to increase the Japanese forces in Manchukuo so that they will be in a position to meet the menace of Soviet troops.

Free Food

CLARA B. PATTERSON IN

The English Countryman

Why should food not be free to all throughout the world? My idea is that there should be a World Food Council of all the nations of the world, and that every nation should have its Food Council, and that through these National Councils the General World Council should learn how much food is available from every nation, and how much is needed by each nation. The World Council would effect an equitable distribution of the available food products. But as food can now be produced almost illimitably there should never be any shortage for any nation. Each government would have to pay for its allocation of food products as it receives them, and would, at fixed intervals, make regular statements of how much is needed.

Such a World Council would become a supreme factor in holding the world together in peace and amity. It would be infinitely more powerful for good than the League of Nations, which is held together by nothing stronger than a desire for peace by

those whom it suits, and a vague ideal with no solid basis.

There should be everywhere state-owned and state-run distributing centres, at which sufficient food of all ordinary kinds could be obtained free by all who could not afford to pay or had less than a certain income—just as education is now supplied free to all who require it.

This is very roughly my idea, and I am aware of the many difficulties. I feel quite certain, however, that something of the kind will one day come into being, and the sooner the better.

Manners

EVA vB. HANSI IN *Pictorial Review*

IN A RECENT talk to parents, Dean Gauss of Princeton said he knew of only three things of whose value one could be certain in a world of such rapid changes as ours: a sane mind, a sound body—and good manners! Not knowing how to get along with one's fellow beings, not knowing how to behave in polite society, has led to many an adolescent breakdown, as he and other college deans can testify.

Manners are compounded of outward forms and inner attitudes. The former can be learned by imitation and by habit-forming practice. To build up attitudes is a far more difficult, far more subtle procedure.

Whether one child is born more sociable than another, no one really knows. On the other hand, it is certain that such unsocial traits as shyness, bullying, exclusiveness, or showing-off are largely the results of upbringing. We live and grow according to the responses we get from our experience with things and people.

Imitation is, of course, a most important factor in learning good manners. A child usually mirrors his home environment—including attitudes and prejudices, be they expressed or suppressed. The actions of elders speak much louder than their words. The child who prefers to remain a boor in a family of well-bred people must have suffered from grossly stupid handling—probably nagging or public reproof or punishment out of all keeping with the social crime committed.

It does not follow, however, that the children of considerate and unselfish parents acquire those qualities by imitation; for it is easily possible to accept gifts of thought and time without developing any sense of reciprocity or obligation. To avoid this, parents must help a child imagine himself in another's place, to cultivate, deliberately, "the understanding heart."

When Wyckoff said that "Manners maketh a man," was he thinking only of politeness or of manners as part of one's essential security? The person who is poised and socially at ease, who knows how to consort with kings and equals, does not need to exploit others to get what he wants; he can afford to coöperate. He has learned to live by the Golden Rule—which is, after all, the one universal standard of good manners and the basis of true social living.

Spies and Counter-Spies

HENRY LANDAU IN *Cosmopolitan*

IT IS BECOMING evident even to the public that spying is on the increase; and yet those who are in the know realize that these newspaper reports only reflect the bubbling at the surface—that underneath, secretly and undiscovered, extensive spy networks are being established in every country.

Reckoning conservatively, there are at least ten thousand spies operating in Europe today. In France alone, close on fifteen hundred have been caught since the armistice—more than were arrested throughout the whole of Europe during the twenty-five years preceding the World War. And these spies are not amateurs.

The reasons for the increase in spying are obvious. Everywhere the armaments race is on, and secret diplomacy, supposedly outlawed by the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, is more prevalent than ever; but above all, every nation has been inventing and perfecting new death-dealing weapons and experimenting with new poison gases.

Since aerial attack and defense will obviously play the dominant rôle in the next war, the secret services are paying special attention to aviation. Apart from mapping targets for aerial bombardment, the spy is searching out all possible information concerning new inventions and improvements in airplanes and anti-aircraft defense.

The United States is the only large nation that does not employ a secret service to obtain the war plans of prospective enemies and learn about their new weapons. The Military Intelligence, a small section of the General Staff, consists of a few officers and stenographers. Its yearly grant is only thirty thousand dollars and its sole function is to advise. It relies for its information on foreign press clippings, and on such data as all foreign military attachés are able to gather.

While the Department of Justice does investigate reports on suspected activities sent in from time to time

by private citizens, there is no check-up on spies in any way comparable with that which exists in other countries.

Ecstasy in Naziland

FROM *Deutsche Freiheit*

IT WOULD be wrong to see in the present European situation no more than antagonism between various states, or to believe that animosity against Germany rests only in our having freed ourselves from certain bonds imposed upon us by the Treaty of Versailles. It is not a question of Versailles, it is a question of much more decisive matters. It is a question of decisions reaching far into the metaphysical! We are facing a conspiracy of the entire sub-human world of a degenerate continent against the last desperate attempt of Germanism to fulfil itself. That has nothing to do with Pan-Germanism. But Germanism, through a thousand tragic years, has had no chance of rising above the circumstances that made of it the cultural fertiliser of Europe. This cultural fertiliser it must remain, says sub-humanity, a sub-humanity that clothes itself with civilisation, culture, religion, and international law to cover its own hypocrisy and inferiority. Ruling Christianity was an effective means for subduing self-willed Germanism. By this religion its soul was kept in chains, in order that it might seek and see its sole mission in its existence as cultural fertiliser. We are facing a conspiracy of sub-humanity that directs the destinies of ignorant peoples and will never admit that the Germans are fulfilling their true mission.

It is not a question of keeping or breaking treaties, but of overthrowing those who wish to evade their duty to be cultural fertilisers. To this end, every means is right.

Mountains

GEORGIA ENGLEHARD IN *Spur*

MOUNTAINS have personality just as people. Some are bold and noble, others merely nonentities. Some are treacherous and base.

Many people wonder wherein lies the fascination of mountain climbing. To them it simply appears as the toilsome effort of dragging yourself to the top of a peak and then descending again. I used to think so too once, rebelling bitterly at the very idea of walking uphill, until one day I went for an afternoon's jaunt with a guide on his day off up rocky little Pinnacle Peak near Mt. Rainier. I caught the fever then and have never lost it. I spend my summers in

the Alps and Canadian Rockies and my winters dreaming of the past triumphs and future conquests to be made.

Given normal physical fitness and good nerves, a person finds its lure is irresistible. Of all the sports it is the most satisfactory in many different ways—a statement which would seem to be proved by the fact that it has devotees from practically every nation and every walk of life. It appeals to many instincts: to the desire for adventure, the desire to explore the unknown. The very exertion required frequently produces a physical exhilaration which amounts at times to spiritual exaltation. Nor is its appeal to the esthetic to be disregarded. The contact with nature in all her moods is most inspiring.

The really good climber must learn to adapt himself to a variety of conditions. Besides learning to climb for himself, he must consider coöperation with the rest of the party. The joys of really good teamwork are not the least in this field.

I think that the greatest thrill the alpinist can experience is to make a first ascent. I know of nothing that brings with it a greater sense of satisfaction and well being than the memory of successful mountaineering on a fine peak. Forgotten are the aching knees and sore fingers, the discomforts of the early start and the frigid second breakfast before sunrise, the exasperations of toiling over loose rock or mistaking the route. You remember only the keenness of the sport, the thrill of climbing sheer walls, and the wonder of nature in all her moods.

Manchu New Deal

FROM *The Manchurian Month*

AUTHORITIES of the Department of Civil Affairs are planning a readjustment of the local administrative system with a view to facilitating the political training of the people at large and increasing their economic strength. The plan is being worked out on the basis of the results of an elaborate study which all local officials under the control of the Department conducted in the course of the past year.

Another important object of the projected reform is to harmonize the interests of national economics and administration while improving local finances and perfecting the administrative organs, thereby contributing to the stabilization of the people's livelihood. In carrying out the national policies upon which the coming administrative readjustment is to be effected, it is stated that the nation will be educated and trained according

to the principle of gradual progress. In effecting the readjustment, the authorities are expected to place emphasis on the development of collective strength wherever possible, rejecting individualism. Promotion of nationalism among the people and strengthening of harmony among the five races composing the new Empire are also sought.

Although the municipalities at present are classified into ordinary and special, some improvements are expected to be made in the latter, and regardless of the special nature of any city the present special municipal system will be eventually limited to the capital.

Municipal status in the future will be granted to only those cities which possess the necessary requirements including financial independence.

In accordance with the principle of government by officials no deliberative organs such as municipal assemblies will be organized in both the special and ordinary municipalities.

The hsiens will be divided into villages, which will be the only public bodies in the local administrative system. Each village will have a master whose position will be honorary, and a consultative body, which will have no voting power.

Unauthorized Insurance

THOMAS J. V. CULLEN IN *The Spectator*

NEW confusion from an old annoyance today confronts the field of life underwriting and intrudes a problem which requires constant, co-ordinated and, as well, individual attention from the men who depend for business success on the preservation of life insurance as a symbol of financial solidarity.

Unlicensed, fraudulent and unsound insurance organizations are all too successfully preying upon the public, securing premiums for a promise which will never be fulfilled, a promise indeed the performance of which even the law seems unable to compel. Against the connivance of their sponsors must be arrayed a solid phalanx of representatives of duly licensed, soundly managed life insurance companies.

The cumulative force of over two hundred thousand reputable life insurance men joined in a campaign of eradication, must result in the speedy elimination of this cancer on the insurance underwriting body.

No greater obstacle confronted the early growth and subsequent progress of insurance in America than the wildcat insurance carrier that, operating outside the law, sold an insurance coverage for premiums which never reached beyond the

pocket of a scheming, unprincipled promoter. Gold brick salesmen and mountebanks whose livelihood was gained by every lawless practice, capitalized upon the confidence of America in the insurance idea and relying upon the gullible.

Various methods and laws have been recommended to combat this apparently growing evil. Even Federal legislation has been proposed. None have thus far been effective. None will be without the cooperation of the insurance supervising officials, insurance agents and brokers, prospects and policyholders. Every person who proposes to buy protection on his life should take it from an agent in whom he has personal confidence.

Noble Suicide

TSUNEJIRO AMAKATA IN
The Japan Advertiser

SUICIDE, particularly shinju or love suicide, is a characteristic of Japan which has survived from feudal days. To settle trouble by death is a traditional moral viewpoint in Japan. Although the motives and reasons for suicide vary according to individual circumstances, suicide is undoubtedly not to be encouraged as an agreeable way to solve one's mental or economic distress.

Harakiri, the act of suicide by cutting the abdomen, which was an honourable act among Samurai of ancient Japan, is still nowadays regarded by many as a sacred act of the Yamato race in accordance with the code of the warrior. It is known that many such suicides have been resorted to by prominent figures in the history of Japan who have rendered meritorious service to the nation or to their feudal lords. Among the outstanding cases was that of the famous Forty-Seven Ronin of Lord Asano, who committed harakiri after they had avenged their optional lord.

From a nationalistic point of view, harakiri is not regarded as mere self-destruction, but is seen as a supreme expression of patriotism. Regular suicide, on the other hand, which many Japanese regard as heroic, is self-destruction regardless the motive.

Many suicides take place annually and the number of suicides has been increasing enormously, especially since Mount Mihara, the great active volcano on Oshima Island south of Tokyo Bay, has become a popular suicide spot. It is interesting to note that the Kegon waterfall in Nikko was for many years a favourite place for suicide, but the gaping crater of Mount Mihara has detracted from its popularity.

It is undeniable that the climate also has much to do with suicide in Japan. The number of suicides rises every year in the hot weather and decreases when it is cool. Thus, the four months of May, June, July and August are called the suicide season in this country.

Vienna's Maybugs

FROM *Berliner Tageblatt*

COCKCHAFFERS, or Maybugs, are funny creatures—at least those who make Vienna their home. They are, like so many others, unreliable. They are always embarrassing the authorities; first, because they are there, and then because they aren't. For the last few years they have appeared in huge swarms in all the Viennese parks, as soon as the sun first smiled in May. In dozens they fell from the trees, in whole clusters they hung on the branches, and on the flower beds you could say without exaggeration that you could not see the flowers for buzzing, whirring insects.

Children went hunting the destructive creatures, armed with bags, botany boxes and cloths; it was really a wild, bold hunt, for neither lawns nor foliage were spared to catch the quarry. Normally so strict, the police stood calmly by, merely asking sympathetically now and again: "How many have you got there?"

That Maybug plague (which usually did not even diminish in June) moved a Viennese writer to concoct a nice little anecdote. Children, he wrote, no longer said their evening prayer as before, but secretly, only: "Dear God, please never free Vienna from its Maybug plague!" For as long as the visitation lasted they were given *carte blanche* to shake all trees, creep behind all bushes and crawl as far as the rosebeds in the parks. Furthermore, they got a whole schilling for every hundred dead cockchafers delivered at school.

This little Maybug story wandered abroad, was reprinted all over the place, and much laughed at. One official body, however, did not laugh. That was the Foreign Tourist Bureau. The poor writer was suddenly accused in the local press of being an enemy of the state, of sabotaging tourist traffic in a malicious fashion, since by letting on about the Maybug plague he would stop foreign visitors from coming to the beautiful blue Danube. Cockchafers should not be spoken or written about. Even if everyone who came saw them, they were officially non-existent. They were listed as "not an attraction to foreigners," and the silence of the grave spread over them.

FROM THE TRADE

ROBINSON-PATMAN ACT

Of paramount interest to business men, and consequently discussed at length in the majority of current trade paper issues, is the Robinson-Patman Act. An editorial in *Chemical Industries* sums up the situation in which the majority of business men find themselves.

"Excited confusion, reminiscent of the frantic first weeks of the N. R. A. has been created throughout all industry by the Robinson-Patman Act. In the chemical industry, because the law is very loosely written in terms of the price structures of the consumer goods industries, this confusion is worse confounded.

"The array of competent legal authority which various chemical trade groups have consulted agrees that practically every chemical sales contract now in force has ceased since June nineteenth to be a proper legal instrument. This measures the readjustments that must be made."

Business men and their legal counsel, however, are not alone in their quandary. The *Wall Street Journal*, reporting a conference between administration officials and representatives of food and grocery industries, offers the following:

"Officials of the Federal Trade Commission are nearly as confused and uncertain concerning interpretation of the Robinson-Patman Anti-Price Discrimination Act as members of the trade themselves.

"This fact became evident Thursday, when lawyers and officials of the commission, in an attempt to clarify provisions of the act to food and grocery representatives, repeatedly contradicted each other on legal interpretations of the measure and finally left the members of the trade in nearly the same state of confusion which has prevailed since the bill became law."

ARCHITECTURE LOOKS UP

The tremendous slump in construction volume during the depression, naturally, was felt among the architects, many of whom had no work for several years. The slump also provoked considerable discussion of the architect's professional position, and the point was often raised that architects, even in normal times, were not consulted in many types of construction, notably small houses, which, through a mistaken economy, were left to the untrained

abilities of builders and contractors.

This discussion seems to have corrected the situation, at least to some extent, judging from the following figures, which are taken from a recent news bulletin issued by *American Architect and Architecture*:

"In 1933, of the total construction volume 57.2% was architect-planned. By 1935, this percentage had increased to 67.8, and for the first quarter of 1936 the proportion shows a rise to 73.8%."

CHICAGO FIRES

Still with the statisticians in Chicago, we learn from the *National Underwriter* that, contrary to the general trend throughout the country, that city was the scene of a greater number of fires this year than last:

"The Chicago Fire Insurance Patrol's report shows that the number of fires in Chicago during July was 869 and exceeded the number in July of last year by 80.5%. For the first seven months there were 8,972 fires in Chicago, compared with 6,771 for the corresponding period last year."

GROUP INCOMES

Two items relating to group incomes caught our fancy this month.

The first, from *American Architect and Architecture*, deals with current wage scales:

"Throughout the year 1935, and during the first six months of 1936, there have been repeated statements from those who should know that the great increase in building activity was bound to force up labor rates. But if there has been any widespread labor wage increase, investigators for the Department of Labor couldn't find it. In a survey conducted recently it was found that the nation-wide average of trades union hours and scales now stands at \$1.25 for skilled labor, and 81 cents for unskilled—an increase of only \$.001 per hour over 1934."

And the second item, from the *Dun & Bradstreet Monthly Review*, seems to indicate that the government is wasting a whole lot of perfectly good sympathy:

"Farmer's cash income for the first five months of 1936 established a new five-year peak, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics."

CRIME CARRIES ON

From the *American City* comes an interesting analysis of Chicago Crime in 1935:

"Of the 2,717 major offenses disposed of in the criminal courts of Chicago in 1935, there were 2 death sentences out of 179 murder trials, and prison sentences were given as follows: for murder, 76 out of 179 trials; for manslaughter,

Sidelights from leading commercial and professional journals, on current business. By Duart MacLean

ter by negligence, 38 out of 73; for rape, 32 out of 80; for robbery 618 out of 1,185; for aggravated assault, 14 out of 44; for burglary, 154 out of 472; for larceny, 209 out of 350; for automobile theft, 136 out of 334 charged."

CHURCH LOANS

The Washington Correspondent of the *American Banker* offers the following note concerning the F.H.A.:

"The Federal Housing Administration proudly announces that it is making a good many loans to churches: in an 11-month period such notes totaled \$779,561, mostly for alterations and repairs, yet almost 30% going for equipment. The average loan was a little over \$500. There are those who have to do with bank receivership problems who will smile at this proud record. If there is one problem greater than another for bank receivers it is how to collect on church notes held in closed banks. It is a business problem and a moral problem, a political problem and a social problem. The receivers can't take over the property, for what good will it do to have a church tied up? Then there are the church members who, in the final analysis, are security for the obligation. They are voters. How can the receiver be hardboiled and become insistent that the pastor or the trustees make good on their notes? Church denomination headquarters might be interested to know that there exist compilations of these obligations."

NEW USES FOR WOOD

The current issue of *World Petroleum* digests an article by M. Friedwald in Rev. Petrolifere, containing the following surprising fact:

"The numerous vehicles propelled by 'wood gas'—the so-called gasogenes—now to be seen in large numbers on the roads and streets in many parts of Europe seem to indicate that wood is a serious competitor of gasoline."

While on the subject of new uses for wood, (most of which seem to be of European origin) we quote from a review in *Facts About Sugar* of an article by H. Scholler in *Chemiker Zeitung*.

"The author describes the . . . processes for making sugar by the acid hydrolysis of wood cellulose. . . . This fermentable sugar may be converted either into alcohol or into dried yeast for stock feeding purposes. For the latter purpose it is possible to obtain a yield of 25 kg. of dry yeast from 100 kg. of dry wood, and it is likely that this yield may be increased to 30 kg."

"There is apparently no future for wood sugar as such, but in a country situated as Germany now is, with a limited amount of agricultural land, the conversion of wood wastes into stock feed is of great national importance."

MARCH OF EVENTS

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

A reign of terror sets in at Madrid, Barcelona, and elsewhere throughout Spain, as army officers and fascist citizens attempt to overthrow the Popular Front government. Jose Giral, a druggist, becomes Marxist premier, and red militiamen supersede the police. July 19.

Two thousand persons are reported killed in Madrid as red militiamen capture military barracks and massacre its defending officers and fascist civilians. Sixteen churches are burned. July 19-20.

The army's revolt against the workers' government at Madrid becomes civil war; in the south the rebels are led by Gen. Francisco Franko and in the north by Gen. Emilio Mola. July 21.

Red Cross officials in Spain estimate the dead so far at 35,000. A rebel estimate places their own dead at 12,000. August 5.

Algeciras, Spanish port within sight of Britain's Gibraltar, is shelled by the loyal battleship *Jaime I*, and a rebel transport sunk—cutting General Franko's line of reinforcements from Morocco. August 7.

The government of Premier Giral orders the socialization of industry, with operation by workers under state control, and as an emergency measure forbids the buying or selling of securities and the transfer of real estate. August 15.

At Badajoz, near the Portuguese frontier, the north and south armies of the rebellion join forces after an important victory; and the insurgent cause grows more hopeful. August 15-16.

The danger that Spain's civil war may involve other nations is emphasized by a Rome dispatch that Italian planes are prepared to aid the fascist rebels unless France under the sympathetic Socialist Blum ceases to aid the Popular Front government forces. August 18.

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

President Roosevelt after a sailing-vessel vacation trip to his summer home at Campobello, New Brunswick, pays an official visit to Canada, the first President ever to do so. He meets Governor General Lord Tweedsmuir and Prime Minister Mackenzie King, at Ottawa, and makes an address. July 31.

President Roosevelt in an address at Chautauqua, N. Y., stresses the good-neighbor attitude of the United States and its singularly blessed position in a troubled world; but he recalls that not only the spirit but the letter of international agreement are being violated with impunity, and without regard to honor, "among nations of the other continents". August 14.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Democrats from twenty-two states meet at Detroit, excoriating President Roosevelt for "calling himself Democratic" and his administration "that seeks to substitute a collectivist state and replace the doctrines of democracy with those of a blended communism and socialism." A Senator, a Representative, a Governor, and a former cabinet member are among those who sign the declaration of non-support of the Roosevelt candidacy. August 8.

Labor's Non Partisan League is formed (at Washington) as a permanent body, to support the candidacy of President Roosevelt this year and to lay the foundation for a labor (liberal) nominee in 1940. John L. Lewis, the miners' leader, and Sidney Hillman, clothing workers' chief, are active. August 10.

Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice assembles at Cleveland and endorses the presidential candidacy of William Lemke but not his Union party or platform. August 15.

George N. Peek, formerly agricultural and foreign trade adviser to the President, declares that under Administration policies agriculture has definitely lost ground to industry. August 15.

ECONOMICS AND CROPS

June revenues of the country's railroads (the first month with 2-cent passenger fares instead of 3.6 cents) totaled 330 million dollars compared with 281 million in June, 1935, an increase of 17½ per cent. August 2.

Gold movement to the United States in 1935 amounted to \$1,739,000,000 net, according to the Secretary of Commerce, reflecting economic crises and war abroad and returning confidence at home. It is also estimated that foreign deposits in U. S. banks increased \$560,000,000; that stocks and bonds sold to foreigners amounted to \$1,305,000,000, offset by \$970,000,000 American securities sold by foreigners to Americans. August 2.

A cottoncrop of 12,481,000 bales is forecast by the Government, comparing with an actual harvest of 10,638,000 bales in 1935 and a five-year average (1928-32) of 14,667,000. The prevailing price is 12 cents a pound compared with 11 cents at this time a year ago. Notable is the higher yield per acre, an average of 200 pounds compared with a ten-year average of 170. August 8.

The smallest corn crop since 1881 is indicated by the Department of Agriculture's estimates—a probable yield of 1439 million bushels and a shrinkage of more than 800 bushels by drought during July. August 10.

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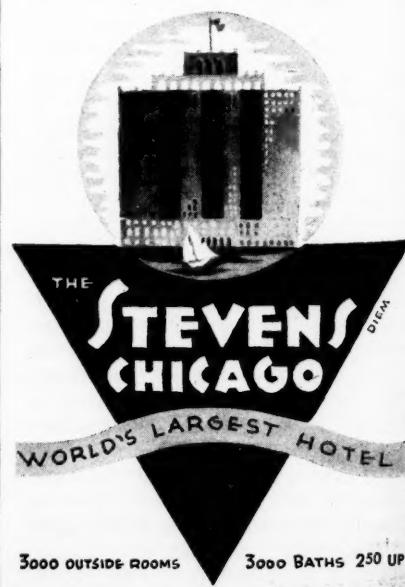
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A HELPING HAND

(Continued from page 9)

should be recorded here that the independent world-tourist who wants to get off the beaten path—and who must consequently use different steamship lines from port to port—will probably spend more money than on a conducted world cruise, and will surely spend more time.

For all those who suffer from the usual limitations of time and money, the conducted Around-the-World Cruises are organized—and their advantages are immediately apparent.

In the first place, the ship is specially chosen—for the pleasure of passengers, not for cargo requirements. The personnel is trained to the world cruise idea, from the lowliest bellboy to the captain himself.

Moreover the difficult questions of how long to stay in which ports, and what to see or do, are settled in advance by experts. Guides and whatever automobiles, trains, aeroplanes, rickshas or filanzanas are necessary for each excursion, are lined up and waiting for the passengers as they come down the gangplank. The cruise staff aboard the ship sees to that—advises as to what excursions are available, matches every desire with a program lazy or strenuous.

The all-important cruise-staff does much more than this, too. Globetrotters of long experience, they subtly direct the social life of the ship . . . match the mood of the passengers with ingenious entertainment: masquerade balls and moonlight revels, tennis tournaments, bridge and swimming and golf contests, movies and lectures, exhibitions of art and photography by the amateurs on board.

NONE but a ship specifically set aside for pleasure could take the route of the Franconia, for instance. There is little freight business between Rio de Janeiro and St. Helena, or between there and South Africa, or from Java to Bali and to Zamboanga in the Sulu Sea. Passenger pleasure alone could bring a 20,000-ton luxury liner into Port Victoria of the Seychelles—or to Miyajima in Japan—or to Chemulpo in Korea.

True, this and other world-cruise liners call at the great commercial ports of the Orient—Bombay, Colombo, Singapore, Shanghai, Yokohama. But their itineraries are varied far beyond that—with all the ingenuity of the widest travel experience to guide the choice.

They offer the utmost in thrills, without discomfort. They provide a floating explorers' club with all the comforts of home—nay, with far

more luxury, in the way of service and food and entertainment, than many homes can achieve—and yet they land you in the midst of the most picturesque and exotic scenes this globe affords.

For all those who can sail next January on such a world cruise, this column admits its envy. The pith-helmeted veteran who sets out alone may sneer at them as being pampered and coddled and humored throughout their four and a half months—and we recognize his rights. But if a man has only one life to live and perhaps only one world cruise to make, he had better get out of it all that he can.

GO AS YOU PLEASE

(Continued from page 8)

travel will at once transport them into an entirely new and miraculous world of perfection, in which they themselves will be made over into different persons. And what a fine thing it would be if some of them could be made over!

However, when a detail goes wrong, as it sometimes will on any trip whether conducted or independent, they will do well to laugh it off.

If I were going around the world I should prefer a conducted tour, at least the "first time around." The shorter the tour, the less I'd care for the conducted feature. For example, on the hop to Bermuda, only two days from the American mainland, I think the best fun is to sail independently to the coral islands, go to a hotel I have selected, and stay long enough to see and enjoy all that Bermuda has to offer, without planning the days ahead or going with a cruise party.

The independent traveler on a trip of any length can stay as long as he wishes in any spot he finds unexpectedly charming, and can wander off the beaten path to "discover" new places that will make the tales of his travels less wearisome to the patient folks back home.

In any event, regardless of how he travels, whether independent, quasi-independent, or more or less conducted, he will realize upon his return the wisdom of this advice gleaned from the notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci:

"Every now and then go away, have a little relaxation, for when you come back to your work your judgment will be surer, since to remain constantly at work will cause you to lose the power of judgment . . . go some distance away, because then the work appears smaller, and more of it can be taken in at a glance, and a lack of harmony or proportion . . . is more readily seen."

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FROM THE EDITOR'S MAIL

PARKING PROBLEMS

To the Editor:

The question dealt with in the article, "They're All Afraid to Mention It," is one that is uppermost in the minds of officials interested in traffic conditions in the larger urban centers. Toronto officials have been giving a great deal of consideration to ways and means of facilitating vehicular traffic, particularly through the crowded sections of the city.

Our officials report that "a cursory examination of the matter reveals the fact that not more than two percent of the retail business transacted during the day in the area can be derived from cars parked on the street, and that the value of street parking for this purpose is perhaps over-estimated." This is closely in agreement with the results given in the article in question.

We are forbidding the parking of vehicles entirely on two downtown streets during the hours from 8:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m., and are restricting the parking of cars in the heavy traffic areas. These provisions have resulted in a material speeding up of moving traffic.

SAMUEL MCBRIDE,
Mayor, Toronto, Ontario

STEEL WORKERS

To the Editor:

Mr. David Page's piece on the highly mixed situation which has arisen in the steel industry is a clear presentation of the issue.

There is one additional factor which points toward a breakdown of the labor effort. Many steel workers will not relish at all the idea of placing their affairs so completely in the hands of the United Mine Workers, who are the backbone of the C.I.O. set-up. Some acquaintance with the industrial history of western Pennsylvania leads me to believe that there is little solidarity between these groups in that important sector.

ARTHUR POUND,
New York City

To the Editor:

I found David Page's story on "The Steel Worker's Dilemma" extremely timely and altogether worth reading. Particularly because it brings out what I find a great many workers are observing—namely, that under present-moment conditions too few of the union leaders or enthusiasts are willing to allow non-members to base their decisions upon a careful weighing of the benefits demonstrated by the two competing forms of collective bargaining, the so-called "outside" and "inside" unions. Because of their impatience, these enthusiasts find it altogether too easy to use various forms of intimidation, coercion and deception.

My observation among the workers, of course, is that these pressure methods do very little good. To be sure,

memberships can be gained, but after all the real problem still remains—how to keep the membership dues coming in month after month.

This only means that the whole question of union or non-union comes to be a matter of competition between the employer and the organizer. All too generally, though hardly universally, this means competition between an intelligent, cooperative employer and a short-sighted, belligerent business agent. In any event, each of these competitors can well bear constantly in mind that the majority of practically every group of employees is made up of fairly intelligent, reasonable, self-respecting, fair-minded, men and women. To such people no plan and no theory has much standing apart from actual performance, maintained with some measure of continuity and permanence. Whether this performance is presented by an outside union or an inside union, its "customer" is sure to believe that "union is as union does."

It is just because I know and respect this average typical worker that I think I have more confidence than most observers in the rightness of his final, un-hurried decision. And it is this rightness of decision, of course, which makes the competition between the two conflicting methods represent to every employer—as also to every organizer—a distinct challenge. This challenge, needless to say, cannot be successfully met except by an employer—or a labor organizer—who is at one and the same time aware of his "customer's" best interests, sympathetic with his highest and deepest needs, and in addition, intelligent, farsighted, and, above all, honest and sincere.

Such a list of requirements furnishes some pretty serious hurdles if the worker's allegiance is to be gained, but my observation is that nothing else than such a list will suffice. This gives, of course, both sides an equal chance. It remains to be seen which can take the greater advantage of it.

WHITING WILLIAMS,
Cleveland, Ohio

WAR BALLOTS

To the Editor:

Your war ballot strikes me as an uncommonly good idea. I was more amazed at the small neutral vote than at the majority that the pro-Russians piled up over the pro-Germans. And I think you showed shrewd editorial instinct in choosing this subject to have a ballot on. Anyone who reads Frank Hanighen's piece on the German war machine will be more than ever inclined to side with the pro-Russian group in your ballot. It is a pleasure to see an American magazine taking such an intelligent interest in foreign affairs as the Review of Reviews does.

QUINCY HOWE,
New York City

SALUTARY WALLOPS

To the Editor:

Mr. Wood, in his stimulating article in the July Review of Reviews, maintains that the Federal Reserve system gives the people a feeble sort of control over money, and he brings in the metaphor of controlling a dog by holding its tail. Now it has been my experience that you will never get anywhere with a dog by holding its tail. If a dog is completely out of control there are only two alternatives: either get rid of him, or try to bring him around by kindness interspersed with an occasional wallop.

Father Coughlin would solve our financial difficulties by getting rid of the bankers, possibly by feeding them poisoned meat. But if I understand rightly the consensus of opinion expressed in the hearings on the Banking Act of 1935, there is little likelihood of any such violent measure being taken against the bankers, though they are going to receive a few salutary wallops in the course of the next few years. The present Administration, in the person of Marriner Eccles, believes in the truth of Mr. Wood's quotation, "the money monopoly belongs to no one man or group, but to the whole people."

I firmly believe that the solution of many of our difficulties lies in government control of money, but I do not believe that either banks or bankers should be liquidated in the manner prescribed by Father Coughlin.

RICHARD C. POWELL,
Chatham, Mass.

GERMAN WAR PLANS

To the Editor:

I have carefully read Mr. Hanighen's article, and believe it to be conservative and altogether accurate. It gives a picture of the building of what will unquestionably be the most efficient and best equipped army the world has ever seen, and what is, even today, the greatest menace to the peace of the hemisphere.

There can be no doubt that in the hands of a man like Hitler this army will be able in a few years to dominate Europe, unless the European and English statesmen will set themselves resolutely to disarm by universal agreement and collective security, without loss of time.

The leaders of this new Germany are utterly ruthless, absolutely false and untrustworthy, and bent on imposing their will on Europe. They cannot be checked by force, any more than German militarism could be destroyed by its defeat in the World War, and because of aerial warfare they may have their way with all their old antagonists, in a war between dictatorship and democracy, which may be fatal to civilization itself.

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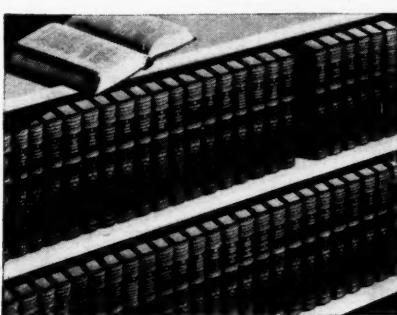
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